# Daily Report

# East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-149
Thursday
5 August 1993

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*FBIS-EEU-93-149* *5 August 1993*

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## Bosnian Peace Talks Continue in Geneva

### Fate of Talks Questionable

*AU0508105493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 5 Aug 93*

[Report by Dragan Colovic]

[Text] We have not come here today to negotiate, but to discuss certain issues regarding the maps. This is what Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic said upon his arrival at the Palace of Nations, where he and the other members of the Presidency of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina are currently holding talks with the conference cochairmen, Owen and Stoltenberg.

Sources close to the conference's secretariat circles claim that after talks with Alija Izetbegovic, Owen and Stoltenberg will assess whether it will be possible to continue the negotiations. Judging by Alija Izetbegovic's statement, quoted at the beginning of this report, he has still not decided whether to unblock the negotiations, which should resume tomorrow after a five-day deadlock.

However, it is not certain that Radovan Karadzic and Mate Boban will show up at the Palace of Nations tomorrow. They left Geneva last night. The local media are talking about a total collapse of the Geneva negotiations and there are a lot of discussions regarding the possibility of limited air strikes against Serbian positions around Sarajevo. Particular publicity is given to yesterday's meetings between U.S. President Clinton's special envoy Reginald Bartholomew with the participants of the Geneva negotiations, during which Bartholomew acquainted his collocutors with the decisions reached at the Brussels session of NATO held on 2 August.

Reginald Bartholomew said last night that it was his impression that his collocutors—he talked to Alija Izetbegovic, Franjo Tudjman, and Slobodan Milosevic—had understood the seriousness of the situation. However, Bartholomew discarded the stance that the Brussels meeting of NATO had negatively influenced the progress of the Geneva negotiations. He said that the negotiations and a peaceful, just, and lasting solution to the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina had been given support by the Brussels meeting.

### UN Negotiating With Izetbegovic

*AU0508092193 Paris AFP in English 0838 GMT 5 Aug 93*

[By Graham Brown]

[Text] Geneva, Aug 5 (AFP)—U.N. negotiators began negotiating with embattled Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic here Thursday [5 August] in a last-ditch bid to rescue the Bosnian peace talks from collapse. But diplomats said the talks were endangered by the Serb onslaught on government defences around Sarajevo and by a belief that western countries might be poised to bomb Serb forces.

Thorvald Stoltenberg, co-chairman of the peace talks, said the only alternative to negotiations was a continuation of war among Serbs, Moslems and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina. "But I must stress that the position is much better now than it was a week ago. ... The military situation in Bosnia is more calm than it was a week ago in spite of the offensive (by Serb forces on the hills around Sarajevo)," Stoltenberg said.

Serb and Croat leaders quit the nine-day-old peace talks here on Wednesday because of a Bosnian boycott since Monday, but said they would return on Friday if Izetbegovic returned to the talks.

The Bosnian leader, accompanied by a large Bosnian delegation, was to hold a day of negotiations Thursday with Thorvald and David Owen, co-chairmen of the talks.

Earlier, Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic warned that Izetbegovic might continue his boycott unless Serb forces ended their siege of Sarajevo by Thursday evening.

Sources close to the peace talks said the Bosnian boycott had been encouraged by a "media frenzy" feeding the over-optimistic belief that NATO was about to bomb Serb forces around Sarajevo.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation is scheduled to meet on Monday to discuss whether, and under what conditions, to launch air strikes on the Serbs if the siege of Sarajevo continues.

U.N. Secretary-General Butros Butros-Ghali has said such strikes cannot be launched without his go-ahead, and there is some doubt that French-led U.N. forces in Bosnia will allow them.

But Silajdzic acknowledged Wednesday that the Bosnian delegation was in Geneva only because they believed the threat of air strikes meant they would not be talking with Serbian guns at their heads.

Ahead of their meeting with the Bosnian presidency Wednesday, the U.N. co-chairmen of the peace talks met a delegation from the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC).

It was headed by Pakistani Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar, and included the foreign ministers of Turkey, Senegal and Tunisia.

A U.N. spokesman said the main task Thursday would be to get Izetbegovic back into the peace talks on Friday with the leaders of the Serbs and Croats in Bosnia, Radovan Karadzic and Mate Boban. He said the Serbs and Croats would be invited back Friday if the U.N. co-chairmen believed that progress had been made in talks with the Bosnian delegation led by Izetbegovic.

The talks Thursday were to deal with such issues as the map splitting up Bosnia into a union of three ethnic-based republics—Moslem, Serb and Croat.

The leaders of the three republics agreed here last Friday on a constitution for a three-republic union.

Outstanding differences included details of the map, the status of Sarajevo, the Moslem republic's access to ports, human rights guarantees and demilitarisation.

Izetbegovic insisted this week that the Bosnian Moslems would never give up their weapons.

The U.N. spokesman said progress had been made on all these issues this week with the Serb and Croat delegations to the talks.

### Izetbegovic To End Boycott

*AU0408170993 Paris AFP in English 1638 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Excerpt] Geneva, Aug 4 (AFP)—Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic will resume peace negotiations here with international mediators on Thursday [5 August], conference spokesman John Mills said Wednesday.

Mills added that the Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Croat leaders were however to leave the peace talks on Wednesday, but might return on Friday if progress was made in the negotiations with Izetbegovic.

The spokesman said Milosevic and Croat President Franjo Tudjman, as well as Serb and Croat leaders in Bosnia, were to depart.

Izetbegovic said earlier that he would continue to boycott the negotiations until Bosnia's Serb separatists ended attempts to capture key heights surrounding Sarajevo from Bosnian Army defenders. [passage omitted]

### Silajdzic Gives Serbs 24 Hours

*AU0408191193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Report by Nada Al-Isa from Geneva]

[Excerpt] We expect the aggressor to withdraw from Mt. Bjelasnica within 24 hours. This is what Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic told us after the afternoon session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency in Geneva. The chief of diplomacy also said that the talks will continue tomorrow and that the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation will be led by President Alija Izetbegovic.

It was also contemplated today that the president perhaps should not attend the talks until the news of the aggressor's withdrawal from Mt. Bjelasnica has arrived. However, [words indistinct] if was, nevertheless, decided at the Presidency session that the delegation will be at the highest level—that is, that the president himself will lead it in the talks.

If the diplomats and the politicians have decided something like this, then they must have definitely had a good reason for it. Therefore, the Geneva talks will continue tomorrow. [passage omitted]

### Tudjman Rejects Izetbegovic Offer

*LD0408213293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Report from Geneva by Nada Alisa]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] How much Bosnia and its president care for peace is obvious from what Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic told us just before our broadcast.

He said: I have proposed to Croatian President Tudjman in Geneva in the last few days that the future Croatian and Bosnian republics within the union of the republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina be a unified territory, from the sea to the Sava river. The central authorities would consist of 50 percent Croats and 50 percent Muslims, while the local authorities would have proportional representation. I thought that this would contribute toward reducing the tension, since every partition brings a threat of new, forcible shifting of the population, and perhaps also exodus. This would be the more necessary since the Croatian and Muslim population is mixed to a great extent in the whole area from Neum to Orasje, the president pointed out.

The Croatian side has so far rejected such a possibility.

### Karadzic: Muslims To Get 30 Percent

*LD0408195693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1914 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Geneva, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—We have done everything to help the conference, although Alija Izetbegovic has been constantly making excuses or, to be more precise, has not been prepared to enter into negotiations. This was the assessment of Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic of Srpska this evening.

Serbs and Croats have reached agreement on many questions, among other things that the Muslims be allowed to form a state on 30 percent of the richest part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that they obtain access to the sea and the River Sava, Karadzic stated, as he was leaving the Palais des Nations.

As regards the cease-fire, Karadzic said that he will do all he can to calm the situation. "Allow me, however, to point out that the Muslim side is attacking both Serbs and Croats."

Karadzic stressed that he is ready to accept the deployment of peacekeeping forces as a cordon sanitaire between Serbs and Muslims. "We will withdraw to our initial positions provided that the UN controls this area."

Asked why he is leaving Geneva, Karadzic replied: "We are returning in order to secure an absolute cease-fire throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina." The president of the republic of Srpska pointed out, however, that the Serbian side cannot maintain a cease-fire while coming under fire because, he said, it has to defend itself. It is vital that

both sides respect the cease-fire, Karadzic said, assessing that in order for this to be done it is essential that observers bear witness to who is responsible for violating it. "This is the key question," Dr. Karadzic concluded.

### Milosevic: All Questions Discussed

*AU0408193993 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Interview with Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, by Dusan Cukic in Geneva on 4 August—recorded]

[Text] [Cukic] Mr. President, intensive talks have been held here in Geneva over the last 24 hours. You were going from one meeting to another, but I must say, very few reports leaked out.

[Milosevic] There are not many reports so far anyway. I would say that we examined all the significant points of the plan, all the significant aspects of the plan in the talks with the cochairmen today, as well as in the talks with the Croatian side, and we discussed many of these questions with the Muslim side, that is, with Alija Izetbegovic last night.

It is planned that cochairmen discuss all these questions with the Muslim side thoroughly tomorrow and if the plan put forward today is respected, the talks among the three sides will resume as soon as the day after tomorrow.

[Cukic] Are you and President Bulatovic and the president of Croatia going to take part in these talks?

[Milosevic] It is so far not planned for us to take part in these talks on Friday [6 August], because the three sides will have many things to solve among themselves, but we have taken upon ourselves the obligation regarding the cochairmen, that is, the conference, to directly join these negotiations the moment they consider that there is a need for us to do so. All in all, I think that much has been done with a view to deblocking the further course of the talks and I hope that this plan will endure [odrzati].

[Cukic] Therefore, Geneva will continue.

[Milosevic] Certainly.

[Cukic] Thank you very much.

### Milosevic Comments on Negotiations

*AU0408201393 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[News conference by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, with unidentified correspondents in Geneva on 4 August—recorded; in English with superimposed simultaneous translation in Serbo-Croatian]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. President, do you have a few minutes to answer our questions? Were you able to break the deadlock on the negotiations?

[Milosevic] I hope that last night we managed to remove obstacles from the negotiations. We are going to check that this morning; we shall see.

[Correspondent] What do you think about the American (?aircraft)?

[Milosevic] Well, there is no doubt that anyone attacking the UN troops is a criminal and that he should be punished. That is one thing.

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct] Mr. Karadzic?

[Milosevic] Another thing is.... [pauses] I believe that everybody thinks so. These incidents are, in fact, attacks against peace, and they directly jeopardize the Geneva negotiations. On the other hand, however, any air strike would only escalate the war. I believe that those people who make decisions have a stronger idea about peace than about war and that Geneva will go forward.

[Correspondent] Are the Serb forces around Sarajevo going to withdraw?

[Milosevic] UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] is there, or at least that is what I am told.

### Milosevic, Tudjman, Bulatovic Depart

*AU0408205293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Report by Dragan Colovic from Geneva]

[Text] Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman, and Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic left Geneva this evening. President of the republic of Srpska Dr. Radovan Karadzic and representative of the Bosnian Croats Mate Boban have also left Geneva.

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic stated to correspondents that all the important elements of the plan were discussed with cochairmen Owen and Stoltenberg and the Croatian side all day. He also said that the cochairmen will have a similar meeting with the Muslim side tomorrow and that the tripartite talks will continue on Friday [6 August].

Responding to a question concerning yesterday's meeting in Le Saugy Villa, Slobodan Milosevic said he hoped that all preconditions for overcoming the blockade and the normal continuation of the negotiations will be secured. Slobodan Milosevic did not want to accuse anyone in particular for the current stalemate in the talks. When asked whether he believed that Dr. Radovan Karadzic controlled his army, Slobodan Milosevic replied that he believed that the political leadership of the republic of Srpska had, as he said, full control over the Serbian forces.

Upon leaving the Palace of Nations, Dr. Radovan Karadzic said that his delegation had tried to help the conference since Alija Izetbegovic [president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency] avoided the talks because he was not prepared to talk. He confirmed that the Croats and the Serbs, as he said, agreed on numerous issues, among other things, that the Muslim republic would amount to approximately 30 percent of, as Karadzic said, the best part of the country and that the Muslim republic would have access to the sea in the south and to the Sava River in the north.

Regarding the cease-fire, Karadzic promised to do his utmost to calm the situation down on the field. He said that the Muslims are attacking the Serbs and the Croats and that the Serbs would agree to UN peace troops being deployed as a buffer zone between the Serbs and the Muslims. Karadzic also said that the Serbian army will withdraw from Mt. Bjelasnica to its initial positions and that UN peace troops will take over control of this strategic territory. We aim to secure a total cease-fire throughout Bosnia, Karadzic added. However, he remarked that the Serbian army must respond to the fire whenever it is attacked and that is why the UN observers are needed to witness who is violating the cease-fire and who is responsible for this.

Reginald Bartholomew, special envoy of U.S. President Clinton, confirmed that he held talks with all the participants of the Geneva negotiations and that he briefed them on the debate concerning air strikes against the targets and positions of the Serbian army that had been conducted at the NATO session in Brussels. He said that his impression was that everybody had realized the seriousness of the situation. Bartholomew does not believe that the Brussels session of the NATO pact could have any negative implications for the Geneva peace process. On the contrary, Bartholomew believes that support for a political solution to the problem in Bosnia-Herzegovina was given in Brussels.

## UNPROFOR Opposition to Air Strikes Reported

*LD0408174693 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1745 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[By Charles Miller, PRESS ASSOCIATION defence correspondent, in Zagreb]

[Text] U.S. pressure for the wide use of air strikes in a bid to force peace across Bosnia was tonight threatening a rift with Britain and European allies.

United Nations forces on the ground are increasingly opposed to widespread air attacks because of the threat to their security and the vital humanitarian aid mission.

But with the fall of the strategically vital Mount Igman overlooking Sarajevo to Serb forces, the Americans are certain to keep up the pressure for air power to respond to attacks on UN safe areas.

Days of tough talking lie ahead before a final agreement on the precise role of the allied air force of 60 warplanes.

The deep concerns in the United Nations Protection Force emerged after a three-day visit to the region by Defence Secretary Malcolm Rifkind.

Speaking after talks with UN commander General Jean Cot in the Croatian capital Zagreb, Mr. Rifkind said: "It remains essential to ensure that any new initiative by the UN is fully compatible with the physical safety of British and UN forces currently in Bosnia."

"Clearly, any use of air power would involve such a significant change in the role of the UN that these are issues that have to be addressed with extreme care and attention over the immediate future."

There is general agreement among the allies that aircraft, including Royal Navy Sea Harrier jump-jets and RAF Jaguars, would be used to protect UN forces if they are directly attacked by the warring factions.

But the U.S. is pressing hard to persuade the allies to launch more widespread attacks to force the factions to sign a lasting peace settlement.

And Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd has emphasised that Serb forces must expect to be bombed unless they stop "strangling" Sarajevo and sabotaging the Geneva talks.

But UN and British forces on the ground in Bosnia firmly believe that such a move would immediately end the humanitarian aid mission, which will be vital to keep thousands of refugees alive during the harsh winter months.

And there is a genuine concern among the forces that the Americans have so far failed to send high-powered officials to Bosnia to see at first-hand the problems in the region.

NATO officials and military planners examining the use of air power must now make a clear decision whether to limit air strikes to the protection of UN forces or adopt a much wider-reaching mandate with selective strikes on artillery positions, ammunition dumps and other strategic targets.

NATO ambassadors are due to meet early next week but a final agreement could take several more days.

## Russian Envoy Comments on Kosovo Situation

*AU0408154893 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Pandeli Shehu report]

[Text] This morning Viktor Nerubaylo [as heard], ambassador of the Russian Federation in the Republic of Albania, organized a news conference on the problems of relations between Russia and Ukraine, Estonia, and several other delicate questions that have arisen on the territory of the former Soviet Union, such as the Tajik-Afghan and Georgian-Abkhazian conflicts, problems in the relations between North Ossetia, Ingushetia, Nagorno-Karabakh, etc. Correspondents from various press agencies, ATA, and Albanian Radio and Television attended the conference. They asked many questions about these topics as well as about the situation in the former Soviet Union and the position of the Russian Federation.

Concerning the crisis in former Yugoslavia and particularly the problem of Albanians living in Kosovo, he said that the Russian Government is led by the principle that the Kosovo problem is real and should by all means be solved within the global framework of the Yugoslav crisis. Concerning this, he said that the flame of the war in Bosnia should be extinguished first. Russia welcomes the idea of a Balkan conference for security and cooperation, which will remove the obstacles that have arisen as a result of the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

Mr. Nerubaylo said that Russia favors the strengthening of the international presence in Kosovo, as well as the necessity of taking all necessary measures to secure the rights of nations and the Kosovars. He also stressed that the Government of the Russian Federation objects to ethnic cleansing in any form and supports all those who are victims of such actions.

## SDP, DP Discuss Possible Coalition

*AU0508090493 Tirana ATA in English 0817 GMT 5 Aug 93*

[Text] Tirana, August 5 (ATA)—A meeting was held on August 4 in the headquarters of the SDP [Social Democratic Party] of Albania between a delegation of the DP [Democratic Party] led by its chairman, Eduard Selami, and a delegation of the SDP, led by its chairman, Skender Gjinushi. The two sides discussed the coalition between the two parties as well as the current political situation in Albania.

Despite differences existing between the DP and the SDP, both delegations at the meeting stressed that their parties will continue the coalition. In order to make this coalition more effective in the interests of the two parties, the delegation of the DP asked the SDP to return to the parliament since the SDP boycott in rests on motives which do not justify the refusal of the SDP to participate in the work of the parliament.

The delegation of the SDP demanded that its return to the parliament should be accompanied by the commitment of the DP to accelerate the work on the constitution, which will then be sent to the constitutional commission.

This demand was considered acceptable by the DP, which promised to give its final reply, after consultation, in the subsequent meeting.

The two sides in the meeting also discussed problems regarding coalition at the level of central and local government structures and questions related to the press of both parties.

Regarding the political situation, the parties emphasized that the present tension is a result of the extreme acts of the Socialist Party, which is determined to support, at any cost, its chairman, Fatos Nano, who has been arrested on charges of corruption.

## Berov Predicts Summer 1994 Elections

*AU0408202893 Sofia BTA in English 1937 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Sofia, August 4 (BTA)—Early parliamentary elections will be held in Bulgaria in 1994, Bulgarian Prime Minister Lyuben Berov projected in an exclusive interview for Radio Free Europe this evening. He said that elections will most probably be held in the summer of 1994.

According to Prime Minister Prof. Berov, who is an independent economist, we have reached the bottom end of the crisis and a few signs of economic recovery are already visible. The prime minister said that according to data he has received from the National Statistical Institute, the expected growth of inflation this year will be about 62.4 percent, which is considerably lower than the 80 percent of last year.

Prof. Berov said that the priorities of his cabinet are land restitution, privatization, the solving of the problem with the 120-billion-leva bad credits of the state-owned enterprises, the fate of the farm equipment of the former cooperative farms, the composition of the liquidation councils (in charge of the land till its restitution), the open or covert unwillingness of a great part of the population and businessmen to pay their taxes.

Prof. Berov said that his relations with President Zhelev are normal and there are no conflicts between them. The prime minister said that he does not expect the president to once again attack the government and its policy at a press conference in the summer, as he did last year with the cabinet of the then prime minister of the Union of Democratic Forces Filip Dimitrov.

The prime minister stressed that the government does not belong to any political force but has been ruling this country for more than six months and working in the national interests. The cabinet is supported by MP's who have decided to support the national interests, Prof. Berov said.

The prime minister wished the Bulgarian nation to overcome internal political conflicts which at times make it impossible to pool the efforts of the entire nation in the field of the economy and in other fields, such as combatting crime, for instance.

According to Prof. Berov, there are no grounds to speak of a deterioration of the relations between Bulgaria and the United States and of anti-American moods in Bulgaria.

## More Details of Privatization Project Revealed

*AU0308181593 Sofia BTA in English 1610 GMT 3 Aug 93*

[Text] Sofia, August 3 (BTA)—The mass privatization project, which the government approved yesterday, combines the positive points of all projects proposed so far and reflects the general direction of the privatization processes in most former socialist countries, Prime Minister Lyuben Berov told the press today.

The main idea is to give every Bulgarian of full age the possibility of buying at least one privatization cheque with a face value of about 25,000 leva for 1,500 leva (the current exchange rate of the lev against the dollar is 27:1 at the moment). The amount paid for the cheques will cover part of the state's privatization expenses and will help the social security sphere, Prime Minister Berov explained. The value of the cheques will be specified when the four-member working group of the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Industry draws up the list of the 500 enterprises to be put up for privatization. They must have already been transformed into single person joint-stock companies and must not be threatened by bankruptcy, the prime minister said. Every individual citizen will have the right to choose to participate either in the privatization of a separate enterprise or a holding company uniting a group of enterprises, or in a privatization fund.

The bad debts problem will be resolved before privatization. There are two projects for its settlement: one proposed by Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev and the other one, by MP Aleksandur Tomov, maybe a combination of the two will be made, Mr. Berov added. He specified that the question was about unpaid loans granted until the end of 1990.

According to Prime Minister Berov, the trade unions support the government's privatization project. Some of them insist on taking persons' length of service into account, but in the prime minister's opinion, this would create technical difficulties and open a possibility for falsifications. If persons' length of service is accepted as a criterion, their qualifications should also be reckoned with and things would be further complicated, the simpler mechanism is more reliable, the prime minister believes. In his view, the disputes over privatization are a normal phenomenon, the government believes that its privatization is socially justified because the property has been constructed thanks to the labour of all citizens. The opposition has opted to hinder the process of privatization and the land restitution because it has nothing more to promise in future elections, Prime Minister Berov pointed out.

## Explosion Occurs at Ruse Power Plant

*AU0508071793 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0400 GMT 5 Aug 93*

[Text] As we have already reported, at about 2200 [1900 GMT] last night an explosion shook the city of Ruse. The duty Civil Defense officer told BTA that the explosion was caused by a defect in the central steam manifold for industrial steam at the Ruse-East Thermoelectric Plant. No one was killed; two persons were injured, but their lives are not in danger.

The eastern part of Ruse has been left without electricity, and an emergency team is working to restore the electricity supply. There is no danger to the local population. An investigation is under way into the causes of the accident.

### Ministry Signs Agreements With EBRD, EIB

*AU0408171493 Sofia BTA in English 1610 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Sofia, August 4 (BTA)—The Ministry of Transport has signed agreements with European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) and the European Investment Bank (EIB) to borrow 140 million dollars in investment loans, Transport Minister Kiril Ermenkov told a press conference here today. The funds will be spent on priority transport construction projects and on upgrading the air traffic control system, he said.

Part of the funds will be spent on a transit road network development project. It includes the building of a 32-kilometre section of the TransEuropean Motorway between Plovdiv and Orizovo (southern Bulgaria) and repairs of some 800 kilometres of main roads. This scheme is part of a larger assistance programme, which envisages a study of new kinds of transport, an upgrading of railway transport and extension of the Trans-European Motorway. The remaining money have been allocated for upgrading the civil air-traffic control system, a task the government assigned to the Transport Ministry this April.

### Commission Calculates Losses From UN Embargo

*AU0408160993 Sofia BTA in English 1518 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Sofia, August 4 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers Commission on UN-imposed Sanctions estimated the losses Bulgarian economic agents suffered by July 22, 1993, as a result of implementation of the UN sanctions against Yugoslavia, STANDART NEWS reports, citing an unnamed commission member. It put the losses in 1992 and by July 22, 1993, at an aggregate 3,826.2 million dollars, and the average monthly loss at 212.6 million dollars.

Industry suffered most, with aggregate losses hitting 1,892.6 million dollars and average monthly losses 105.1 million dollars, the article says. Next comes foreign trade, with, respectively, 1,420.8 million dollars and 78.9 million dollars. Farming, international transport and the tourist industry rank next, with aggregate losses amounting to 205.4, 204 and 43 million dollars respectively, the daily writes.

According to the daily, commission experts have gathered information on direct and indirect losses suffered by subsectors in the processing industry. Those were highest in mechanical and electrical engineering and electronics, hitting 562.6 million dollars. The chemical, pharmaceutical and oil-processing industries follow, with U.S.$470.2 million.

Bulgarian carriers are expected to lose 2,100 million leva by the end of this year, Transport Minister Kiril Ermenkov told a press conference today. The sector sustained 646 million in embargo-related losses in 1992. This figure was 1,078 million leva for the first four months of 1993 (preceding the passage of UN Security Council Resolution 820), Mr. Ermenkov specified.

### UNTAC Awards Battalion Leaving Cambodia

*AU0408194093 Sofia BTA in English 1726 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Sofia, August 4 (BTA)—Lieutenant-General John Sanderson, commander of the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), presented medals and honorary certificates to distinguished officers, sergeants and soldiers at yesterday's ceremony on the successful completion of the mission of the Bulgarian infantry battalion in Cambodia, the Defence Ministry announced today.

In his address General Sanderson described the Bulgarian peace-keeping mission as highly successful, emphasizing its important role in the holding of elections in Sector 9. Once again he paid tribute to those Bulgarian soldiers who died, performing the difficult task of keeping peace in this much-suffered country.

The reception at the Bulgarian Embassy in Phnom Penh was attended by Mr. Yasushi Akashi, special envoy of the UN secretary general, General John Sanderson, the U.S. and Russian ambassadors, and Cambodian government officials. At the reception Mr. Akashi said he was happy to express once again deep gratitude on behalf of the UN secretary general for the role the Bulgarian military contingent played in Cambodia. I hope this will not be the last time you join UN peace-keeping missions, Mr. Akashi said in his speech at the reception.

### Official Reports on Livestock Figures

*AU0408132893 Sofia BTA in English 1018 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Sofia, August 4 (BTA)—Animal husbandry owed nearly 2,700 million leva by December 31, 1992, of which almost 2,000 million leva were bad debts. The most heavily indebted branches are pig-breeding (1,800 million leva), poultry-breeding (800 million leva), and fish-farming (70 million leva), according to figures of the Agriculture Ministry. Experts estimate that by now the debt must have exceeded 3,000 million leva.

While the debt keeps rising, pig numbers keep falling and are already 38 percent down from the record 4.33 million in 1990. Pigs totalled 2,751,000 by June 30, 1993. In just one year, state-owned pig-breeding farms have lost nearly 800,000 animals. To make up for it,

however, the number of pigs on private farms is growing and some experts estimate them at over 1 million head.

The shortage of animal feed in the last few months is singled out as one of the gravest problems confronting pig farms. Animals are fed meagre quantities once in several days. Animal mortality has soared to 20 percent at some places. On a number of farms 50-60 kg pigs, far below the standard weight, have to be slaughtered. Experts say this process has already become unpredictable. At the same time, fatted pigs are not sold. While hundreds of animals are waiting to be purchased in a number of areas, pork is imported from Russia and Moldova, pig-breeders complain.

Probably for these reasons the condition of pig-breeding is described as "deplorable" in a memorandum of First Deputy Agriculture Minister Yuriy Spasov.

The root cause of the crisis is the branch's hopeless indebtedness and the refusal of banks to lend money for purchase of animal-feed grain, the Agriculture Ministry believes.

"Credits are the pig-breeders' actual problem," agrees Mr. Aleksi Stoykov, secretary of the Association of Pig-Breeders in Bulgaria. That is why their principal demand, supported by the Agriculture Ministry, is to have their debts transformed into public debt or at least rescheduled for three years at the shortest. For the time being, however, the Finance Ministry flatly rejects the proposal that the state take over the debt of animal husbandry at large and pig breeding in particular.

Mr. Kamen Beligerski, head of department at the Ministry of Agriculture, dismissed as "speculation" the allegations that debts were written off in 1991. He thinks that this concerns the one-time write-off of part of the investment credits in 1991, which soared after the dollar rate jumped almost ten-fold.

A number of farming experts attribute the present dire straits of pig-breeding to its overconcentration in huge complexes. There are some ideas to privatize pig-breeding, and some of them are already starting to be implemented. With balance sheets burdened by huge debts, however, the enterprises will hardly find buyers.

One possible way out is for the Agriculture Ministry to work out a comprehensive strategy for the development of pig-breeding in coordination with foreign trade companies, the Environment Ministry and other institutions concerned with pig-breeding.

## First Private Bank Reports Progress, Expansion

*AU0308192293 Sofia BTA in English 1826 GMT 3 Aug 93*

[Mariana Barutchieva report]

[Text] Sofia, August 3 (BTA)—Three years after its establishment, the First Private Bank (FPB) already has 126 branches nationwide, a capital of 534 million leva and 2,700 natural and juristic persons holding its registered stock, FPB Governing Board Chairman Ventseslav Yosifov told a news conference in Sofia today. With over 10,000 shareholders, which guarantees its stability, the FPB is a non-political, non-governmental organization, a "typical money-maker," as Board of Directors Chairman Dimitur Zvezdev put it.

The bank's administration wants it to provide the full range of banking services in ten years' time. It cannot do so at present due to telecommunications and personnel problems. The board, however, is guided by the Japanese "late start theory"—taking advantage of existing structures instead of starting from scratch.

The bank now has a paid-up capital of 440 million leva which, together with the reserves, adds up to 534 million leva. This qualifies the FPB for a full-service licence under the Banks and Lending Act and the National Bank's requirements.

The value of registered shares, placed with 2,700 natural and juristic persons, totals 240 million leva, which surpassed the administration's expectations to raise 100 million leva capital.

Before the end of this year, the FPB may start issuing credit cards with full bank liability. Agreements have been signed unilaterally with American Express and Visa, they have been coordinated with the National Bank and confirmations are awaited.

Representatives of the bank accompanied President Zhelyu Zhelev on his visit to Kazakhstan last week. In early July, the FPB joined in a co-founder capacity the Bulgarian-Kazakh light industry consortium KABO. In it, Bulgaria holds 51 percent and Kazakhstan—49 percent. The bank will assist bilateral trade with financing, foreign exchange reserves and banking. The annual monetary volumes will amount to an estimated several hundred million dollars.

The bank will participate in the privatization process by financing and consultancy for private companies. The FPB will open some 30 new branches round the country before the end of this year.

## Klaus on Wallis Affair, Economic Issues

*LD0408203093 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1630 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by correspondents Vaclav Musilek and Katerina Kasparova; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kasparova] Prime Minister, it is no secret that you have spent the past few days on leave in Italy, so before we focus on some events which occurred during that time at home and abroad, could you perhaps tell us whether you feel sufficiently rested and prepared to tackle everyday problems?

[Klaus] The word sufficiently is fairly strong, but I certainly feel rested. [passage omitted]

[Musilek] Inasmuch as this year is concerned, it seems that the silly season has started on our political scene, at least it is evidently necessary to write about something, so the Wallis affair has come into being. You talked about it briefly yesterday. Do you think it is indeed an artificially created problem, a fabricated affair which will be a transient summer matter, or does it contain some aspects which have deeper significance after all?

[Klaus] One cannot put it this simply. Every affair has some impact, every affair means certain damage, and our Czech democracy, naturally, does not need affairs of this type; and I would say cannot afford them. This means it is not an insignificiant matter, because it cannot but narrow down the stability of our country, the stability of our political system, and it is evident in this case that somebody is striving for its instability. If I say somebody I do not know if it is Mr. Wallis—I do not know him. I do not know whether this involves some journalists who started this game with such delight, I think even with inner pleasure. I cannot assess it precisely. In any case, this matter is becoming an internal political question and it is a pity; it did not have to happen; I do not think the public deserves it; I do not think our politicians deserve it either.

[Kasparova] Lately the view has frequently been voiced that the openly right wing orientation of the government has become rather a rhetoric gesture, that instead of speeding up the pace of economic transformation it has been slowed down—as [the government can be seen] assuming the stance of stressing social aspects, above all as far as bankruptcies of state enterprises and liberalization of the rent regulation are concerned. [passage omitted]

[Klaus] I wonder who would like to see the government's stance shifting, and to where. My view is that no shift has taken place. It is simply not true that the government is softening its policy. The government takes a neutral stance on the process of bankruptcies, the government currently neither speeds it up nor slows it down. The government has simply put forward a bill which is aimed at introducing a three-month protected period. [passage omitted]

[Musilek] Last week was a critical one for the ERM's survival. [passage omitted] Do you think that this system will be paralyzed or that it will even disintegrate? Can these problems have any impact on our economy, too?

[Klaus] I think that we are really under no immediate threat. The events taking place in Europe, to the west of our country, are very symptomatic, logical, and necessary. The dream about creating a unified monetary system as soon as tomorrow or the day after tomorrow has gone, too.

You are surely aware of the fact that the rescue which took place over the weekend is a very questionable rescue. If somebody says that the system of fixed exchange rates was preserved and the only change was in increasing the range of their movement, this could in my view blind a voter in a remote small village in the Pyrenees or in the Apennines, but anybody capable of an analysis knows that the exchange rate between the franc to the German mark, allowing for changes of plus 15 percent to minus 15 percent, is simply anything else but a fixed exchange rate. [passage omitted]

This gives us a clear signal that it is simply not right to rely on fully fixed West European currencies—and all our exporters, importers, and bankers have to take this into account and take a different course of action. Otherwise, I am convinced that the abandonment of the artificially kept system, allowing for a 2.25 percent fluctuation, is reasonable, and in long term this will more likely stabilize exchange rates than destabilize them. [passage omitted]

## Kozeny Issues Statement on Wallis Affair

*LD0308185993 Prague CTK in English 1827 GMT 3 Aug 93*

[Text] Prague, August 3 (CTK)—Former Secret Service agent Vaclav Wallis sold Harvard Capital and Consulting (HCC) President Viktor Kozeny information containing an order for the targeting, discrediting and later liquidation of Kozeny, his family and friends, and all of his business enterprises, Kozeny claimed in a written statement released today.

He also claimed he did not know Wallis was an agent of the Federal Security Information Service (FBIS), and that he was genuinely blackmailed by Wallis.

Not until shortly before the arrest of Agent Wallis, which obviously would not have taken place in the foreseeable future without action by me, did he transfer to me the first written material marked "FBIS", containing an order for the targeting, discrediting and later liquidation of my person, my close family and friends, and all the business enterprises I own, the statement reads.

The information Wallis sold him, it goes on, was a mere legalisation of actual blackmail.

It predominantly went on about absolutely unreliable and unfounded word of mouth, like neighbourhood gossip, with the intent of discrediting, destabilising and disrupting the personal lives of individuals as well as the process of privatisation, the statement continues.

Kozeny also wrote he was disturbed not only that the mere prosperity of his enterprises had made him a Secret Service target, but that the Secret Services were eluding any kind of oversight and its agents were beginning to blackmail entrepreneurs, slander members of the government and spread alarming reports.

Neither I nor the Harvard Funds have anything to hide, nor are we guilty of any wrongdoing, Kozeny wrote.

He also denied that the information Wallis gave him had influenced in any way the investment strategy of the Harvard Funds: The success we have achieved is the result of hard work, healthy reason and the high professionalism of the Harvard Funds' managers.

Kozeny is scheduled to read his statement tonight on Czech Television.

### CTK Profiles Investment Fund

*AU0408120693 Prague CTK in English 2317 GMT 30 Jul 93*

[Text] Prague July 30 (CTK)—The following is a profile of Harvard Capital and Consulting (HCC). The president of the company, Viktor Kozeny, from March to December 1992 allegedly paid former counterintelligence agent Vaclav Wallis half a million crowns for secret state information concerning the privatisation process and for information of a compromising nature concerning top Czech and Czechoslovak political leaders.

Harvard Capital and Consulting is a shareholding company, essentially divided into two parts—the Harvard Stock Company and the Harvard Investment Society. It administers eight privatisation investment funds, which differ in their investment and returns strategies. Two of the funds are aimed at Slovak customers. The company also manages a further 20 dividend funds.

HCC's advertising campaign led to an unexpectedly high level of participation in the first wave of voucher privatisation last year. It attracted a large number of investment voucher holders with a promise to buy back their shares, if they wished to sell, at a minimum of ten times the initial value of the voucher books. A book of vouchers cost 1,000 crowns (about 33 USD [U.S. Dollars]).

The company gained 639 million investment points from more than 800,000 coupon holders—that is, from more than one-tenth of all those participating in the first wave of voucher privatisation. In the five rounds of the first wave, funds managed by HCC invested all the vouchers entrusted to them in shares in 51 companies in the Czech and Slovak Republics. In 38 of those companies, HCC owns more than 15 percent of the shares.

HCC invested mostly in large financial institutions such as Komercni Banka [Commercial Bank], Ceska Sporitelna [Czech Savings Bank] and Ceska Pojistovna [Czech Insurance], and in large manufacturing companies—CEZ (Czech Energy Works), Slovnaft, four of the five largest construction companies, and in many foreign joint ventures (Tabak, Cokoladovna Praha, etc.).

The book value of HCC's holdings is more than 16.8 billion crowns (560 million USD), but their market value is estimated at between 38 and 45 billion crowns (1.27-1.5 billion USD). The total market value of the firms in which HCC gained a notable share is more than 136 billion crowns (4.5 billion USD).

Information appeared in the media more than a year ago that important posts in HCC were being filled by people from the old power structures. The Czech daily LIDOVE NOVINY wrote on January 29, 1992, that the deputy director of the company is Mr. Vostry, formerly a representative of the 6th Division of the StB (the secret police of the former communist regime). This division specialised in intelligence-gathering technology, including the development and installation of bugs, secret cameras and recording devices. Mr. Hribal was another employee of the StB's 6th Division he is now head of Harvard Security Products, one of the group of companies which forms Harvard Capital and Consulting. A former Federal Interior Ministry employee, Mr. Hlavac, deals with HCC's security information network.

### SDL Concerned About 'Political Hegemony' in LB

*AU0308181293 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 31 Jul 93 p 3*

["(fp)"-signed report: "Fear of Hegemony in the Left Bloc"]

[Text] Prague—According to J. Mecl, Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] Bohemian Committee chairman, it is necessary "to readjust relations within the Left Bloc [LB] and conclude a new political agreement." There must be greater mutual conciliation between the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM] and the SDL to ensure "there is no political hegemony within the LB," said Mecl at yesterday's SDL news conference.

The Left Bloc, according to him, will only be functional when the two partners "bring fresh ideas into it and when they are capable of agreeing on them." Bohemian

Committee Deputy Chairman and LB Deputy V. Rezac said: "There is no justification for the attempt by 21 LB deputies to found a Left Bloc Party [SLB]," because this party's program is identical to that of the SDL. The majority of LB deputies—according to him—favor the reform stream, and "the attempt to establish the SLB is an attempt to reevaluate the Prostejov congress."

The chairman of the SDL Committee for Moravia and Silesia is F. Suchy and the deputy chairman is M. Minarik. J. Mecl, F. Suchy, and S. Zajicova of the reform communists and L. Indruch, I. Svitak, and V. Cech of the DL were elected to the six-member Political Board, which will administer the party between the Nationwide Committee's congresses. The disproportion between the number of DL members ("several hundred") and the number of new arrivals from the KSCM "is huge" said Mecl in reply to a question from TELEGRAF on the composition of the membership base. As far as property-related legal issues involving the KSCM are concerned, he would like to conduct negotiations on a change to the 1:9 ratio for dividing the election contribution so that it corresponds to the proportion of separated members. "The SDL has no legal claim to KSCM property, but whether the SDL should not have a moral and political right to help from the KSCM is another matter," added Mecl.

## Republicans Demand Replacement of Minister Ruml

*AU0408151293 Prague CTK in English 1708 GMT 2 Aug 93*

[Text] Prague August 2 (CTK)—The Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SRP-RSC) has called for the immediate replacement of Interior Minister Jan Ruml with an experienced police professional, according to a statement signed by Josef Krejs, a party board member.

The statement says that the Gypsy question can only be solved by doing away with false humanitarianism arising from efforts aimed at being viewed favourably within influential foreign circles. It also declares that any further benevolence will lead to a rise in crime. The cause of the Republicans' ire, says the statement, is also the Interior Ministry's announcement that it would back a trial social programme for ethnic Romany children operating in Prague's 5th district.

The programme, aimed at reducing crime among children living in the area, will allow pre-schoolers to attend summer camps and take part in leisure and skill development activities.

### Report on News Conference by HZDS

*LD0408135893 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Excerpts] A news conference held today by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] was attended by [Prime Minister] Vladimir Meciar and [HZDS Deputy Chairman] Roman Zelenay.

[Announcer] Boris Koren has taken down a few notes at the news conference. I should like to ask him in the beginning: At the news conference a lot of attention was no doubt paid to the coalition talks between HZDS and the Slovak National Party [SNP]. Have the journalists found out any new facts?

[Koren] The chairman of the movement said that the initiative to renew talks must come from the SNP. The SNP has not provided any official information about the results of the session of the Republican Council which was held on Saturday. They have not received any official offer either. The SNP must, above all, do away with the reasons for disagreements. Meciar then went on to specify the disagreements during the coalition talks. They include steps which were aimed at breaking the unity of HZDS, the financial demand of the chairman of the SNP, and also behavior which led towards discrediting the partner.

At the same time, the SNP must realize that the requirements which were heard at the coalition talks were out of proportion: To the known requirements of the SNP—namely that Ludovit Cernak becomes deputy premier for the economy, Jozef Prokes minister of defense, that a representative, but not a member of the SNP becomes minister of the economy, claims to posts of state secretaries at the Ministry of Privatization, Education, and Finance, the demand for a chair of the head of the department of health care—I should like to note here that this post should be performed by a doctor without experience—Meciar added other requirements, so far unknown. [passage omitted]

Meciar went on to say that in case the coalition is not concluded the known five variants of HZDS policy are valid. Naturally, they also talked about some other topical questions, about privatization, preparation of the law on conflict of interests, nationality problems, possible changes in the government, and so on.

[Announcer] According to some interpretations, the coalition talks failed on the disagreement of the Slovak National Party with the proposal of the so-called law on limited mandate of deputies. Did you talk about this too?

[Koren] Not directly, but Vladimir Meciar spoke about the need to change election laws, about local and parliamentary elections. In the case of the law on local elections it is because in the areas of mixed nationalities, even in cases where the ratio of the Slovaks and the Hungarians goes in favor of the Slovak nationality, the majority of deputies in the general and town representations are, as a rule, of Hungarian nationality. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] I should like to revert to yesterday's news conference of coexistence where accusation was heard to the effect that Minister of Transport, Communications, and Public Works Roman Hofbauer issued an order according to which all the bilingual signs of towns and villages be removed. Did the chairman of the movement adopt a viewpoint on that?

[Koren] Yes, according to him Minister Roman Hofbauer proceeded in harmony with the law. The change of law will depend on the decision of the parliament and then, naturally, it will be the duty of everybody to adhere to it. Meciar went on to say that one will also have to clarify how the bilingual signs will be perceived, whether as a Slovak plus Hungarian name or a Slovak name plus its Hungarian transliteration.

[Announcer] Now to the changes in the government: Will these changes take place also in case the coalition of HZDS with SNP is not concluded?

[Koren] Meciar confirmed this indirectly when he said that the current situation, when the prime minister stands for the deputy prime minister for the economy and minister for privatization and Deputy Prime Minister Kovac stands for minister of education and science, is untenable and cannot last long.

In conclusion, I would like to mention one topic that HZDS Deputy Chairman Roman Zelenay talked about. In his view, the draft bill, according to which the Slovak television and the Slovak radio would amalgamate in one unit, is still under preparation.

### Carnogursky Interviewed on Topical Issues

*AU0408162493 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 3 Aug 93 p 12*

[Interview with Christian Democratic Movement Chairman Jan Carnogursky by Premysl Stvora; place and date not given: "The Left Will Not Win the Next Elections"]

[Text] [Stvora] After the election of a Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] member as chairman of the Supreme Control Office, Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] representatives said that it was a blow below the belt of Slovak democracy. How much is this statement justified, in your opinion?

[Carnogursky] The HZDS won 37 percent in the elections, and filled all the high positions in the country. We have serious objections against the functioning of the government, from an organizational viewpoint, and in view of the results. We believe that if the Supreme Control Office were filled with opposition members, then this office would be able to force the government to

do a better job. Not from the political viewpoint, but from a purely pragmatic viewpoint.

[Stvora] The HZDS, however, have won the majority of votes in parliament for their candidate, so this was quite a legitimate process.

[Carnogursky] Yes, we recognize legitimacy.

[Stvora] It has become apparent that nongovernment parties in Slovakia are forming such a nonhomogeneous whole that it is difficult to say who is actually in opposition. Is cooperation between those parties possible on fundamental issues, is it possible at all?

[Carnogursky] Honestly, the opposition is so nonhomogeneous that is would be incapable of forming a government today. However, it might be possible to reach agreement on some side issues, which may not mean a fundamental reversal in Slovak policy, but it would prevent the HZDS from taking the wrong political steps. The filling of the Supreme Control Office position is an issue about which the opposition might have reached agreement. It might also be possible to agree on the dismissal of the chairman of parliament and the election of another deputy for that position.

[Stvora] What effect would the replacing of I. Gasparovic have at present?

[Carnogursky] The National Council would be able to implement controls in a more rigorous manner.

[Stvora] With which rightist parties is your cooperation best, and what should such cooperation look like, in your opinion?

[Carnogursky] We see a basis for cooperation in practical issues, and not in issuing joint statements. Our economic program was scrutinized by many Right-leaning experts from other countries. As long as the Slovak National Party was outside the government and supported right-wing policy, we promised our support for their admission to the European Democratic Union. No matter what form our cooperation takes, we want to preserve our own identity. Cooperation must also correspond to the momentary evaluation of the political situation. At present, we are discussing whether we should run on the same list of candidates with other parties or not. First, it is not known when the elections will take place, and this is why any discussion of a joint list of candidates is premature. Second, the difference, particularly of our membership bases, is quite large. Why should we agree on a joint list of candidates if we disagree on specific matters.

[Stvora] Premature elections could become an alternative development. What would be the KDH standpoint if V. Meciar initiated these elections?

[Carnogursky] I consider a change to Slovak policy to be the most important thing. If it were possible to arrive at this change in a less expensive manner, that is, by forming a government different form the existing one, then such a solution would be more welcome. If this were impossible, then premature elections are the best solution. I believe that owing to the failure of the HZDS—Slovak National Party talks, premature elections have come closer.

[Stvora] According to some observers, the greatest problem, as regards any agreement, is Meciar. Do you believe that it would be possible to rule without him?

[Carnogursky] Yes, it would be possible. However, for the time being, without Meciar's approval, it is impossible to install a democratic government.

[Stvora] The last HZDS Presidium meeting has shown that within the movement there are certain internal disagreements between its chairman and National Council deputies. Is cooperation between your movement and some of the HZDS members possible?

[Carnogursky] As regards politically neutral issues, yes. However, as regards important issues, no, for the time being, since the HZDS deputies are voting en bloc.

[Stvora] Prime Minister Meciar said recently that the opposition may have its own opinion, but it cannot change Slovakia's orientation. Do you really believe that this orientation cannot be changed?

[Carnogursky] First, Slovakia's independence cannot be changed. This is reality. Anything else can be changed. What is more, this is even inevitable. We must govern with a greater consensus and without confrontation, be it in relations to the opposition, the neighboring countries, or minorities in our country. In the economic sphere, it is necessary to search for balance, not by increasing the share of the state [in the economy], but, on the contrary, by doing it the other way around. State support to those who are efficient should be increased, and support should be reduced to those who are inefficient. It has been proven that small and medium-size firms are more efficient than large enterprises. It is necessary to speed up privatization and maintain the koruna's realistic exchange rate.

[Stvora] Slovakia is in a difficult economic situation now. However, there is a lack of courage to push for the necessary, but unpopular measures. Do you believe that, under the current constellation of political forces, it is possible to escape this crisis?

[Carnogursky] We doubt that the HZDS is capable of getting out of that crisis because it is linked so much to old communists. Basically, however, it should be possible to get out of this situation. The Slovak population, however, does not accept economic reform. A great many people are not willing to share economic changes and bear corresponding responsibility for them. This will be a problem for the possible new government. The fact that the population is perceiving reform negatively is partly a matter of propaganda. The worsening economic situation in Slovakia will be, unfortunately, the best argument for a change in the current economic policy.

[Stvora] Are you convinced, then, that the right wing will win the next elections?

[Carnogursky] I am not quite sure that the right wing will win. At least, right-wing parties could be so strong as to prevent left-wing parties from implementing their program without being disturbed, as they are doing now.

[Stvora] Do you believe that the KDH will be able to say something meaningful to more than 10 percent of the Slovak population?

[Carnogursky] No matter what, we will try.

[Stvora] The majority of the Slovak population is supporting Christian concepts. Despite this, it is in fact you who are among the least popular politicians. How do you explain that?

[Carnogursky] I am unable to describe it with sufficient objectivity, and this is why I leave it up to the others.

[Stvora] Do you believe that the fact that almost all Slovak parties have a great number of former communists in their ranks prevents reform from being implemented?

[Carnogursky] This problem concerns the internal integrity of a party and its ability to resist various pressures. The course and the result of the talks between the HZDS and the Slovak National Party testify to the fact that the Slovak National Party is not so strong internally as to be able to oppose pressures exerted by Mr. Meciar. The KDH does not have that problem. In the past, our members were not members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and right now we are able, as one of the few parties, to resist the aforementioned pressures. This is in part a reply to your previous question regarding my small popularity in Slovakia.

## KSU Official Thinks Broad Coalition 'Impossible'

*AU0408151493 Prague CTK in English 1510 GMT 2 Aug 93*

[Text] Bratislava [dateline as received] (CTK)—Christian Social Union (KSU) Vice-Chairman Bartolomej Kunc said today that a broad coalition government is impossible in Slovakia, as it would simply duplicate the function of parliament.

Kunc envisions instead the formation of a narrower, topical coalition. He noted that that option remained open to the two partners discussing possible cooperation, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and Slovak National Party (SNS), though representatives of both parties are paying too much attention to personal questions.

Vice-Chairman Viliam Oberhauser said that the high indebtedness of Slovak enterprises was causing their managements to lose motivation for creating active economic policies, leading them instead to passively await bankruptcy. The KSU suggests using employee ownership of corporations as a way to solve the stagnant privatisation process. Oberhauser pointed to ZTS Dubnica, ZPA Presov and Sigma Zavadka as firms that have prepared plans for this, but said that the government has not exactly expressed its consent.

Oberhauser also stated that media invectives aimed at his party—concerning its remarks on the Democratic Left Party's illicit handling of assets of the former Communist Party of Czechoslovakia—show that the KSU had touched someone's sensitive nerve. He is surprised, however, that so-called rightists have spoken out as well, when they have simply changed their colours, but are secretly rooting for the SDL.

### EFTA Cooperation Discussed With Swiss Minister

*LD0408121193 Warsaw PAP in English 1131 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 4—Swiss Finance Minister Otto Stich met his Polish counterpart Jerzy Osiatynski in Warsaw on Wednesday when the question of cooperation in the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) was discussed, according to unofficial sources. It is possible that the accord between Poland and EFTA may de facto come into force before it is ratified by the Polish Parliament.

Acccording to the Deputy Director of the Foreign Department of the Finance Ministry, Janusz Wesolowski, the Swiss delegation declared in the name of the Swiss Government Switzerlands intention of continuing cooperation with Poland.

Minister Stich also met the President of the National Bank of Poland (NBP) Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz.

### Tusk on Liberal Democrat Election Prospects

*PM0508085093 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 29 Jul 93 p 5*

[Interview with Donald Tusk, Liberal Democratic Congress chairman, by correspondent Marek Burczyk; place and date not given]

[Text] [Burczyk] Today, the Liberals promise us a million new jobs in four years' time. Why, then, during the time when the Liberals were the major force in the government, did we not see new jobs being created? On the contrary, jobs kept disappearing and unemployment figures grew.

[Tusk] Only the last claim is correct in your statement, and few people realize that more than 2 million new jobs have been created in Poland since 1990. These were mostly jobs in the private sector. Our tragedy is that the rate of elimination of "unsound" jobs, that is, work positions which are not profitable and which the state is forced to subsidize, is still slower than that of setting up "sound" jobs. We want to accelerate that rate substantially so that over the next four years we can provide at least 1 million new jobs in "net" figures.

[Burczyk] Many observers doubt the realism of these promises...

[Tusk] They are not promises. They are the result of a closely calculated and rather conservative prognosis of a perfectly realistic scenario. Of course, we must launch a series of specific steps and measures leading in that direction. The fundamental prerequisite here is that the zloty is kept in a healthy condition. This presupposes a continued curb on inflation and a freeze on the budget deficit. Without these two conditions, there can be no chance of success. What are our proposed steps and measures that will serve to create new jobs? First, a system of safe (from the viewpoint of the zloty's health) investment-promoting credits and allowances. Second, a dynamic—I would even say aggressive—promotion of Polish goods on the domestic market and on foreign markets. Next, the implementation of an extensive program of vocational retraining and adaptation of the structure of vocational education to the requirements of the present and expected future situation in the job market. Next comes extensive privatization of the economy, which should proceed along a great many paths and channels. Finally, we must have a free labor market. Here we will not be able to avoid the need to introduce clearly formulated legislation involving employer-employee relations. Nor can we hope to avoid the need to restrict the trade unions' political function.

[Burczyk] Can such a stipulation be voiced by the same leading Liberal activists who emerged from the trade union movement? Would you not agree that it could be interpreted as a betrayal of your earlier ideals?

[Tusk] Our leading Liberal activists did not emerge from the trade union movement. They trace their lineage to early Solidarity, which was something much wider and embracing many more planes and facets than a traditional trade union. It was a broadly conceived sociopolitical movement. For example, I personally never considered myself a trade unionist. In any case, there are different kinds of trade unionists. Sensible trade unions—especially elsewhere in the world—are well aware that unrestrained wage and benefit demands from employees eventually rebound against the employees themselves, because they place their very jobs in jeopardy. They also know that shared responsibility for the firm's output and its economic condition is at least as important as the final distribution of the firm's profits.

[Burczyk] But this kind of attitude can be expected from employees and their trade unions only when they are guaranteed real participation in managing their firms. This is how it is done in many Western economies. In Poland, on the other hand, we observe a clearly visible regression in this area.

[Tusk] I believe that here in Poland we actually face a completely different type of danger. The enterprises pact, which was drawn up under such difficult conditions and which offered work forces a real opportunity for a significant role as coowners able to influence the course of ownership transformation, is now being subverted by trade unions—more specifically, by Solidarity itself. This indicates clearly that something is amiss in the trade union's approach to the work forces' and the state's future fate. Let me stress again that our stipulation that the role of the trade unions be restricted concerns exclusively their political aspirations and actions, which these days often involve infringing the law with impunity.

[Burczyk] A significant proportion of the public perceive the Liberals as people whose hands are not entirely clean and as "patrons" of a variety of pathological phenomena

in our economic life. What do you intend to do to change this picture, which is hardly flattering for you?

[Tusk] It is certain that no advertising campaign or technique can erase this picture of the Liberals—untrue and unjustified as it is—from the minds of the people who have come to believe it. We must go among the people with our visors raised, so to speak, and not avoid open and frank confrontation with them whenever they want to discuss these issues with us. If we are confronted with obvious and specific lies, we will not hesitate to seek redress through the courts. I am sure that we will not succeed in changing Mr. Wrzodak's or Mr. Jankowski's opinion of us, but it is not they who will determine whether or not we are honest. That will be determined by independent courts of law and by our electorate. We are not afraid to submit to the test.

[Burczyk] Does your attendance at the confidential meeting hosted by Archbishop of Gdansk Goclowski indicate that the Liberals are now ready to withdraw their stipulation that the state should preserve a neutral stand on religious issues?

[Tusk] Not at all! The Archbishop simply extended his hospitality to us, no more.

[Burczyk] Are you saying that you had no other venue for the meeting and would otherwise have met under a bridge?

[Tusk] I am sure it would not have come to that. In any case, it was the kind of invitation which you simply do not refuse. At least I do not refuse them, especially if I know the person extending the invitation and value him highly.

[Burczyk] But why was the meeting confidential?

[Tusk] The meeting was semi-private, that is, none of its participants had an official mandate to represent their respective political groups. We attempted to predict the situation after 19 September [election date] in order to avoid a situation in which we would have to go through the horror of unsuccessful negotiations. After all, time is of enormous importance in politics. As we know, there was not enough time to attend to several most important matters, such as the project to set up an election coalition between the Liberals and the Democratic Union. We would like to prevent a similar situation taking place in the future.

[Burczyk] Who, in your opinion, will form the nucleus of your supporters' group in the election?

[Tusk] It will certainly be the 5 percent of the electorate who unswervingly declare their support for the Liberal Democratic Congress. Altogether, we expect to obtain support from about a million people of both sexes, of a variety of professions and occupations, and of all ages. A million people who are convinced that freedom and liberalism are the leading ideals in modern Europe. Of course, we hope that even more people—some 7-8 percent—will eventually vote in our favor. Our "reserves" are the young, dynamic, ambitious people who have already achieved some success and for whom freedom signifies not only dangers but also hopeful opportunities.

[Burczyk] The direction and the outcome to date of the reforms implemented in Poland so far are a source of discontent for a wider range of the population than just hired employees. Many groups within the new middle class are also disgruntled. Do you not think, then, that you are excessively optimistic in your official expectations of crossing the 5-percent threshold?

[Tusk] The election campaign will cost us billions rather than millions of of zlotys. It will involve hard work by hundreds, or even thousands, of people. We would not be risking that money or that effort if we were not convinced that our expectations of crossing the 5-percent threshold are perfectly realistic. The 5 percent of Liberal voters are already as good as guaranteed. Let me add here that we will run the best electoral campaign possible, since we have in our ranks the man who can do it better than anyone else in Poland: Jacek Merkel. We have literally hundreds of brilliant, determined young men who will help us run it. We have a good program and we have great ideas. We will go for it, and we will go for more.

## Kuklinski Not To Visit Poland

*LD0408195793 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 1900 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Relayed by TV Polonia Network]

[Text] Some news just in. Colonel Kuklinski is not going to come to Poland in September, and Chicago press reports are untrue, according to Kazimierz Dziewanowski, ambassador of the Polish Republic in Washington. Our correspondent Mariusz Max Kolonko learned this in an editorial office of the New York NOWY DZIENNIK.

## Center Alliance Leader Regrets Failure To Form Bloc

*LD0408193193 Warsaw PAP in English 1904 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 4—Leader of the Centre Alliance (PC) Jaroslaw Kaczynski in an interview granted to the Polish press agency PAP Wednesday [4 August] voiced his regret over unsuccessful efforts to form a bloc before the elections uniting "at least the PC, the Movement for the Republic of Poland and Solidarity."

"Also the Christian National Union (ZCHN) could have found a place in such an alliance that would be able to fight for an election victory and for power. It is to be regretted that such a chance has been wasted," he declared.

Stressing that the ZCHN had broken off talks concerning a common list of candidates for senate seats Kaczynski put the blame on that party for the centre-right's wasted chance to win the elections.

The PC leader found it hard to define the reasons which have prevented the Polish centre-right groupings to unite but suggested that certain programmatic differences were not the true obstacle.

He stressed, however, that unlike some other political parties the PC had a programme which was not entangled in the "present system of interdependencies, fears and opportunism" present in relations with political institutions and especially with the president's office.

### Switzerland To Support Bid for Debt Reduction

*LD0408175093 Warsaw PAP in English 1734 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 4—The Swiss Government will support Poland's bid for a 50 percent reduction of its dlrs 12.3 billion debt to commercial banks grouped in the so-called London Club, head of Federal department of Finance Otto Stich said after talks with Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka and Finance Minister Jerzy Osiatynski.

On July 19, the London Club rejected Polish offer to halve the debt and proposed a 28 percent reduction.

### Spokesman Says Russian Troops May Withdraw 5 Aug

*LD0408171093 Warsaw PAP in English 1655 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Legnica, Aug. 4—Spokesman for the commander of Russian troops in Poland Mikhail Kyriyev did not rule out that the last Russian military transport would leave the base at Warsaw District of Rembertow on Thursday [5 August] as soon as the preparations for the withdrawal are completed.

"The Russian side intends to act in accordance with the provisions of the agreement on the issue signed by Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Lech Walesa. We are not violating the withdrawal timetable. As soon as certain problems are solved we are ready to start the pullout," Kyriyev said.

On Tuesday the Russian commander of the operational group of Russian troops in Poland halted the withdrawal of a special communications brigade from Rembertow over a disagreement with the Polish authorities as to where a new Russian military mission should be located.

According to Kyriyev, the problem is still unsolved. He described the Polish proposal that the mission be housed in the Russian Embassy in Warsaw as "impossible to be implemented for various reasons."

Director of the office of the government commissioner for the stationing of Russian troops in Poland Jerzy Lotkowski argued that the the mission could take over buidings that the embassy currently lets to several trade companies.

### Solidarity's Oil Sector Rejects Restructuring Project

*LD0408160393 Warsaw PAP in English 1546 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 4—The oil sector of the Solidarity Trade Union rejected a restructuring project prepared by a team headed by president's aide Andrzej Olechowski and asked the government to start negotiations on the issue, member of Solidarity's authorities Karol Luzniak said on Wednesday [4 August].

According to Luzniak, the Olechowski-prepared project does not cover southern refineries, thus dooming them to liquidation. The project envisages the sale of 45 per cent stake to foreign capital which, Luzniak believes, poses a threat to Polish interests.

Solidarity expects the government to halt the restructuring and privatisation of the sector until a new parliament and government are elected, to treat the oil sector as a strategic trade and to limit access of foreign capital to the sector.

Meanwhile, prime minister's press secretary Zdobyslaw Milewski on Wednesday said that the project had not a final character and would be discussed by the cabinet economic committee in August and only then will the unionists proposals be examined.

## Miners' Strike in Jiu Valley Continues

### Cosma Statement to Miners

*AU0408121493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Miron Cosma had a new dialogue with the miners gathered in front of the Petrosani Pitcoal Corporation headquarters at about 1100 today. Among other things, he said, quote, the psychological warfare initiated by the government might turn against them because we also have a strategy and sufficient weapons [destule arme] to counter them. The duel of papers and faxes will eventually be won by us, unquote, said Cosma, adding that, quote, the government is scared, unquote.

Cosma renewed the invitation for an executive delegation headed by Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu to hold negotiations in the Jiu Valley. The miners request that the delegation should urgently come to Petrosani because, as the leader of the Confederation of the Miners' Trade Unions of Romania put it, correct negotiations could rapidly defuse the current labor conflict.

The leader of the Jiu Valley strike action appealed to the miners asking them to obey, wherever it is necessary, the directions given by the mining administration, as exceptional situations have been reported at several extraction sights. The working places do not belong to the government but to the miners, so they should take care of them, Cosma added.

Referring to the approaching miners' day, the Jiu Valley miners' leader said that bonuses will be handed out in the mines and outlined the way in which the general strike is to be continued. Related to the latter issue, our correspondent reports that, on Friday morning, the miners' shifts will not come to Petrosani but will remain on strike in their extraction units. However, if, within the next two days, no government representative shows up in Petrosani, on 9 August they will reoccupy their places in front of the building of the Pitcoal Public Corporation in that town.

The strike in the Jiu Valley continues.

### Industry Minister Comments

*AU0408132693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1130 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/8/1993—In the opinion of Minister of Industries Dumitru Popescu the present labor conflict in the Jiu Valley will be solved by an agreement with the miners through the only rational way of settlement which is dialogue, but, he said, "by a real, serious dialogue, well documented for both sides."

The minister of industries is surprised at the miners' request of having the dialogue in the Jiu Valley as long as the issues at stake fall under the competence of the unions and the Ministry of Industries.

While proving with details that the miners' claims are ungrounded, Minister Dumitru Popescu argues that the budget initially earmarked by the government provided for well-defined amounts for salaries in industry. The availabilities thus apportioned were then the basis for wage grids stating clearly the confines of the average net and pretax wages.

To substantiate his criticism of pay rises to the detriment of physical expenses, the Romanian minister of industries showed that while in 1989 physical expenses stood for 64.8 percent of total allocations, in 1992 they represented only 39.8 percent and in 1993 38.2 percent; with wage expenses following the reverse scale, from 35.2 percent in 1989 to 60.2 percent in 1992 and 61.7 percent in 1993.

### Strike Committee Announces Schedule

*AU0408150693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1304 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/8/1993—The strikers of the Jiu Valley are to observe, Saturday, 7 August, the miner's day. An extraordinary meeting of the strike committee held in the morning of 4 August resolved that the miners were all to go to their work places to collect the bonus allocated for the event and that on Friday, 6 August, the strike should go on as planned, while Saturday and Sunday the miners should spend the weekend with their families. The same meeting decided that Monday, 9 August, miners gather again before the office building of the Pitcoal Public Corporation [in Petrosani] until their claims are granted.

Ilie Torsan, president of the Jiu Valley Miners' League told a press conference at the corporation headquarters that during the days off to come the strike committee will further press for negotiations in Petrosani. He showed papers ruling that the strike is legal and specified that the labor conflict actually started on 5 July.

### PUNR Issues Communique

*AU0408163093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1500 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Here is a communique received from Mr. Gheorghe Funar, president of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR]:

In connection with the general strike of the Jiu Valley miners, PUNR expresses the following position:

1. At the request of the public local administration—as expressed by Mayor Gheorghe Berca—and at the invitation of the League of Jiu Valley Mining Trade Unions [LSMVJ], a PUNR delegation visited Petrosani on 3 August 1993.

2. The fact-finding visit revealed that there is no actual labor conflict in the Jiu Valley between the Petrosani Public Pitcoal Corporation and LSMVJ, since both sides share the same viewpoints on the new pay scales.

3. The PUNR delegation tried to mediate between the government, on the one hand, and the Public Pitcoal Corporation and LSMVJ, on the other hand, with a view to halting the general strike.

4. The PUNR viewpoint—which was accepted by the representatives of the mining trade unions and the Pitcoal Corporation—was that a governmental delegation consisting of Messrs. Ministers of State Misu Negritoiu, Florin Georgescu, and Dan Mircea Popescu, who last month concluded a protocol on the allocation of 91 billion lei of subsidies to the Jiu Valley, should urgently go to Petrosani to meet with the striking miners and establish the new pay scales. We suggest that this delegation should be led by Mr. Viorel Hrebenciuc, general secretary of the government, since he has already solved a similar problem for the miners in the Maramures basin.

5. PUNR suggested that the first stage of the dialogue should take place in Petrosani and the second stage in Bucharest, in the presence of experts from the relevant ministries. This is the only possible solution now for ending the general strike of the Jiu Valley miners.

6. The PUNR delegation noted in Petrosani that the demands of the Jiu Valley miners are in accordance with the pay scales established and accepted by the government for the miners in the Rovinari and Maramures areas.

7. Fully disagreeing with a number of so-called democratic parties and political groupings, which have demogogically and irresponsibly launched the idea of closing down the Jiu Valley mines and resorting to coal imports, PUNR supported and supports any technical-economic solution that provides for further investments to relaunch the activity of Romanian mining, which has a millennia-old tradition in Europe.

8. Since the general strike of the Jiu Valley miners affects the normal activity in other basic sectors of the national economy, PUNR calls on the government to immediately start the first stage of the negotiations in Petrosani.

This was the communique received from PUNR President Mr. Gheorghe Funar.

### PRM Issues Communique

*AU0408165593 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1500 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] A communique received from the Greater Romania Party [PRM] warns that behind the wage claims of certain Jiu Valley miners lies the intent of overthrowing the government and destabilizing the social and political situation in our country. We believe, the communique reads, that this artificial crisis is being exacerbated by ill-meaning people who want to exploit the situation for political purposes. By this, we mean the Civic Alliance Party [PAC], a grouping which has scandalously accused the government and a number of parties that love their fatherland, including the PRM, for this impasse.

The communique also emphasizes the following: Nobody should blame the Vacaroiu government or the parties supporting it for this dubious strike but rather the inhuman thirst for power and popularity of trade union leader Miron Cosma, who has often said that the trade unions will lead Romania.

While appropriately appreciating the nobleness of the miners' work, PRM resolutely calls on the health forces in the Jiu Valley to responsibly consider the immoral demands of certain trade union leaders, who are asking for average monthly wages of 250,000 lei, while the average monthly pension is only 20,000 lei in Romania, a teacher earns 50,000 lei, and a physician 60,000 lei per month.

In conclusion, the communique reads, quote: We suggest to certain trade union and political leaders to recall the biblical truth that he who sows the wind will reap the whirlwind, unquote.

### Miners Present New Proposals

*AU0408183393 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] At the headquarters of the Petrosani Public Pitcoal Corporation, Mr. Miron Cosma, leader of the Confederation of Mining Trade Unions of Romania [CSMR], invited the journalists present there—over 30 of them, representing central and local dailies, radio and television stations throughout the country, and the foreign press—to a news conference. On this occasion, the journalists were told that the trade unions have found another solution to the labor conflict. However, the prime minister was blamed for the prevailing destabilization; the miners' leader said that, through communist-type procedures, the prime minister has made no concessions whatsoever to meet their claims, and consequently the situation has become more complicated. Aside from the demands of the Jiu Valley miners, the affiliated trade unions have also put forward their own demands.

In order to solve all these claims, the trade unions came up with a new proposal, namely to place the miners' basic pay on real bases, so that the salary rights of the Public Pitcoal Corporation personnel are comparable with those of other employees in various economic sectors.

The average basic wage levels in the proposed new pay scale are the following: above ground—114,478 lei per month; and underground 174,968 lei per month. The overall monthly salary would thus average 154,642 lei per month. This salary level would mean a 51 percent increase over the levels resulting after the implementation of certain normative acts.

Mr. Cosma then told the journalists present that the Pitcoal Corporation was informed about the suggested rectification of the 1993 budget. On the same occasion, the journalists were told about a new invitation received from the executive to participate in a dialogue in Bucharest, on 5 August. Mr. Miron Cosma said that this invitation will be submitted to the vote of the miners present in the courtyard of the Petrosani Public Pitcoal Corporation, where the strike continues. Depending on their decision, he will answer—in the affirmative or negative—the invitation extended to him by Industry Minister Mr. Dumitru Popescu.

Around 1930 hours [1630 GMT], the miners were consulted about the opportuneness of going to Bucharest. This time, the miners' response was an absolute no. Consequently, the strike continues.

### Union Leaders Call For Unity

*AU0408183493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1743 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/8/1993—The Miners' Union Confederation and the League of the Jiu Valley Unions, whose members were on strike, issued a communique Wednesday, August 4, saying that the government was trying by the communiques it released to destroy the links that have always existed between the miners working in coal, metal and non-metallic mines. It is still graver that a number of miners' leaders, i.e. those of the Miners' Union Federation affiliated to the "Alfa" unions have condemned the Jiu Valley coalfield miners for their claims, although they do not know them from a direct source, says the Jiu Valley communique.

Our unions fight for wages at a reasonable level, considering that work is hard underground. Nobody has got informed that we asked and still ask that the wages of all miners be at the level of those claimed for the Jiu Valley miners, specifies the communique.

The miners everywhere have never been and will never be paid as much as they deserve. That is why we are on strike and even if you do not side with us, we shall continue to demand that all miners have the same levels of salaries, which we have fixed and the decision is in the hands of the government now, concludes the communique signed by the leaders of the two union organisations, Miron Cosma and Ilie Torsan respectively.

### PNL Blames Government, Miners

*AU0408193893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1752 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/8/1993—The chairman of the National Liberal Party (PNL), Mircea Ionescu Quintus, said that both the government and the miners' leader were responsible for the situation in the Jiu Valley. The government's guilt is obvious, as in nine months of governing it has found solutions to none of the grave economic problems of the country. On the other hand, added Mr. Quintus, the leader of the miners' unions, Miron Cosma, should have also been kept responsible as he is "a man not easy if not impossible to talk to."

PNL Deputy Chairman Calin Tariceanu mentioned that the miners did not come to bucharest this time, which proves that all their sorties into the capital were "at request." The PNL deputy chairman added that although he found the government's activity to be "not satisfactory," in the present conditions, when the institutions of the state of law had to be fortified, the PNL could not ask the government to resign. He also mentioned that a final solution for the crisis lay in the implementation of the economic restructuring project and the dissolution of loss-making public corporations.

### Vacaroiu on Cosma's Accusations

*AU0408202693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] A short while ago, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu commented on television about certain statements made by miners' leader Miron Cosma, which he characterized as inappropriate, uncorroborated, and licentious. He said that those statements aimed at presenting a totally false picture of the situation.

The prime minister said that, although the economic situation is slightly better, one should continue to give priority to the social protection of all people and the weakest categories. Both the Jiu Valley miners and the entire country should realize that efforts are being made to come out of the crisis and that everybody must contribute to this effort, particularly since the situation does not permit an upward leap in living standards, something that would again contribute to further inflation.

The prime minister said that the government cannot accept too much of an increase in the miners' wages, as long as the average salary in the economy is 65-80,000 lei. It is the duty of the employers and trade union leaders to correctly brief the miners on the current economic problems so that they can understand the situation and resume their work in the mines.

The government stands by its promise of being further open to dialogue, so as to examine the necessary steps to solve the situation. As for my going to the Jiu Valley, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu emphasized, I consider my presence there inopportune.

### Press Comments on Strike

*AU0508113193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0904 GMT 5 Aug 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/8/1993—All central dailies front page the Jiu Valley miners' strike. "MERIDIAN" opines under the headline "Playing With Fire" that "the Jiu Valley strike poses a threat not to Nicolae Vacaroiu and his government, but to the principles of democracy and liberty." Mentioning the causes of such

protests, the said daily writes that "the (three) governments after December 1989 adopted hazardous economic policies doomed to failure, and the Vacaroiu government has been characterised by confusion, demagoguery and political indecision in point of reform. Delaying action or acting at random, it has turned the reform into a national Calvary with social costs much higher than those normal and bearable. Now it lives the nightmare of its own mistakes. The miners' strike and their claims should rather bring to the fore the destiny of the 10 million Romanians forced to live under the poverty line."

"The government has clearly won the conflict on short term," says "CRONICA ROMANA." "The miners were excessive once again, the absurdity of their claims has quasi-unanimous recognition... The authority of the Vacaroiu government has been strengthened on short term. The opposition parties (but for the Civic Alliance that issued a surprising declaration, the Democratic Party (FSN) which kept strategically silent, and the exhibitionism of the mayor of Cluj, who chairs the Romanian National Unity Party), the public opinion and even part of the unions have approved the government's stance ... Miron Cosma has been a victim of his own trap... He has been forced by his role to be over-aggressive, in a struggle he lost as soon as he engaged in it. If the short-term victory is clear, irrespective of how the conflict ends, peacefully or violently, the middle-term consequences will show up from now on," writes "CRONICA ROMANA."

"TINERETUL LIBER" maintains in its leading article on "The Miners and the IMF" that "without playing down the pressure of the miners' strike on power production, the miners should not count on economic blackmail. As with or without the coal supplied by the Jiu Valley, the Romanian economy will collapse unless it receives foreign funds for hydrocarbon supply, which are basic even for the functioning of co-generation stations on coal."

"CRONICA ROMANA," "CURIERUL NATIONAL," "COTIDIANUL" carry reports on the Jiu Valley strike. "ORA" maintains that "the conflict in the Jiu Valley is not a conflict between miners and the government after all, but a conflict with the law."

"ADEVARUL" sounds the alarm in its leading article on "wheat and dollars" on "over-optimistic forecasts" regarding the 1993 wheat crop and on Romania no longer needing grain imports this year. "Hundreds of thousands of hectares waiting for combines, loss put at 10 percent by specialists, combines short of gasoline in the counties of Ialomita, Braila, Calarasi, all this makes us question the firm assurances the executive have given us." The said daily also reproaches the executive with having set prices at 100 lei per kilo for wheat to be bought by the state from farmers. "The government assumes great responsibility when disregarding all this, the experience of previous years."

## Vacaroiu Discusses Wheat Harvest, Prices

*AU0508124993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1136 GMT 5 Aug 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 5/8/1993—A teleconference was held on Thursday, 5 August, at the Victoria Palace by Romania's Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu with local administrations regarding summer harvesting and other issues related to a normal evolution of the economic and social activity.

During the teleconference appreciated was a better organisation of the grain harvesting as to past years. More than 2.6 million hectares of land were harvested out of a total of 3.3 million grain-cultivated hectares of land, which represents 80 percent. Wheat crops were harvested on some two million hectares of land, which represents 86 percent, which means a production of 4.5 million tonnes.

During the teleconference, Premier Vacaroiu stressed the need for the Romcereal company to speed-up industrialisation of the contracted wheat, for 28.6 percent of the production is currently held by the state, 57.4 percent goes to producers and 14.0 percent is used for sowing.

Romania's prime minister mentioned once again that the price for the wheat harvested in 1993 would not change and stay at 100 lei per kilogram. This price is stimulative and is situated at world levels, while any increase would determine an unjustified rise in the price of bread.

The government operative command considered that results scored until present in irrigation works do not fully justify financial efforts made by the state.

Also stressed was the government's concern for ensuring state credits in view of improving autumn farm crops and increasing stocks strictly necessary for the population's supply over the autumn-winter period.

On the occasion, Prime Minister Vacaroiu presented also issues debated and decisions taken by Romania's Government in its weekly meeting on 4 August 1993.

## Ministry Statement on Moldova, CIS Accords

*AU0408121293 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] In connection with the extraordinary session of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova and today's discussion of the ratification of the economic part of the agreements on Moldova's adherence to CIS, Mr. Mircea Geoana, spokesman of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, made the following statements at today's regular weekly news conference.

[Begin Geoana recording] I noted with interest the fact that all the public statements of the Chisinau authorities emphasize the economic dimension of the adherence to the CIS agreements. At the same time, we are aware of the fact that economic measures can also be used as

means of political pressure. We realize that the prevailing economic difficulties in the Republic of Moldova and the impossibility of finding the necessary material and financial resources in Western Europe, including Romania, are the main reasons why the Chisinau decision-taking authorities chose this solution.

A global evaluation of the implications of this adherence—including its implications for the program and concept of the integration between Romania and the Republic of Moldova—can only be made after today's vote in the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova and after an examination of the concrete terms of the adherence.

As a matter of fact, the considerations of Romania's president and Government regarding the significance and consequences of this decision for the relations between the two independent Romanian states were presented to President Mircea Snegur by President Ion Iliescu's special envoy Mr. Marcel Dinu, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

I would like to remind you that, during the recent Bucharest talks between the two presidents, the issue of the Republic of Moldova's adherence to the economic side of the CIS accords has not been broached. [end recording]

## Spiroiu on Need for Security System in Balkans

*AU0308192393 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 31 Jul 93 p 3*

[Interview with Defense Minister Niculae Spiroiu to Voice of America radio station; place and date not given: "We Contribute To Creating a System of Security in Our Geopolitical Zone"]

[Text] "We realized that with the dismantlement of the military and political structures of the Warsaw Pact, the direction for ensuring our country's security is integration in the structures that have begun to emerge within the CSCE process. Therefore, we participate in all these structures and are striving to ensure that they become operational and functional, so as to also ensure our own security. Unfortunately, these structures have proven inefficient so far. That is why, as everybody knows, the Yugoslav conflict has gotten out of control and is very hard to influence right now. We believe that a political solution should be found without delay, since a military intervention might lead to the conflict's expansion northward, toward Vojvodina, and southward, toward Kosovo and even Macedonia. That is why we perceive as sources of insecurity the developments taking place in the former Yugoslavia (...) and the developments taking place in the former Soviet Union (...), particularly since those conflicts have come very close to our borders, if we think of the situation in the Dniester region last year. All these things were perceived by us as sources of insecurity (...). We have excellent relations with the Hungarian Army, with which we have a cooperation accord that is not limited in time. That accord was signed in 1990. We have a similar accord with the Bulgarian Army. We are currently drafting an agreement with the Ukrainian Army, which will be signed. An accord with the Army of the Russian Federation has already been worked out; it will be signed next September, when General Grachev, defense minister of the Russian Federation, comes here on a visit. Therefore, we have these bilateral links and contacts with the armies from our geographical region, from the Balkans. We have also concluded a governmental agreement with the Turkish Army and a cooperation agreement, which will also be turned into a government one, with the Greek Army (...). Therefore, here we are building up this system of cooperation that can allow us to contribute to building up the overall European security system, while paying attention to our geopolitical zone," Major General Niculae Spiroiu said in an interview granted to the Voice of America radio station.

## Government Approves Winter Energy Program

*AU0408132793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1152 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/8/1993—The Romanian government examined and approved the program proposed by the Ministry of Industries for energy resources during the winter 1993-1994 and the financing scheme in local and foreign currency.

The program aims at covering the requirements of the economic sectors in the attempt to avert moments of crisis like the one the government faced at the onset of the previous winter season.

Energy resources assessments are based on an estimated 4-5 percent growth of industrial production and pursue to entirely cover consumer needs at average winter temperatures starting from real consumption rates last winter when the distribution by quotas was discarded. For the fuel wood, coal, and coal bricks the suppliers are to furnish regular monthly installments of 100,000-110,000 tonnes of coal, and 70,000-80,000 tonnes of fuel wood at standard size and quality.

Apportionment of natural gas to industrial units will be equal to quantities furnished last winter, but the fertilizers industry will get a share larger by 43 percent. Likewise, agriculture will get 47 percent more diesel oil and 54 percent more fuel oil than last winter.

Assessments pursue maximum capitalization of domestic resources and limitation of imports to strict necessities.

Imports have been approved mainly for natural gas, crude, and fuel oil.

At present, the summer energy program adopted by the government in May provides for stocks to be built until early October, for compensation of forecast extra consumption in winter.

## Prices of Food, Services Increase Dramatically

*AU0408084893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0633 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/8/1993—The share of trade services supplied to the population in June 1993 was of 83.2 billion lei, 1.7 percent higher than in May, and of 405.2 billion lei in the first semester of this year, which goes beyond the level recorded in June 1992.

Overall, the level of prices and tariffs for services to the population increased by 5.5 percent as to May 1993 and with 229.7 percent as to June 1992. The share of services supplied by private economic agents [companies] to the population was of 43.9 percent in the first semester of 1993.

The farm food market recorded overall prices by 161.8 percent higher in June 1993 as to June 1992 and by 148.6 percent for vegetables and fruit and 182.6 percent for animal produce.

Record prices were registered especially for maize, wheat, wheat flour, maize-flour, beef, fresh milk, cheese, cream, apples, and live chickens.

## Parliamentary Delegation Leaves for India

*AU0408150293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1227 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/8/1993—A delegation of the Romanian Parliament, led by Ioan Taracila, senator for the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR], vice president of the Romanian Senate, left Saturday, August 4, for India. The delegation includes Elena Preda, a PDSR senator, Ion Manea, senator for the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party [PNTCD], Gabor Kozsokar, senator for the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], Mircea Musat, deputy for the Greater Romania Party [PRM], and Mihaita Postolache, deputy for the Democratic Party (National Salvation Front [PD-FSN].

The visit is made at the invitation of the Indian Parliament and it includes interviews with India's president and its prime minister and talks at the Indian Foreign Ministry. The contacts are intended in the first place to facilitate a better knowledge of the Indian parliament's life and activity. The Romanian delegation will also meet Indian members of parliament and leaders of the two chambers of the Indian legislative body. The representatives of Romanian Parliament will meet in Bombay the governor—chief minister of the State of Maharashtra and the speakers of the two local chambers.

## Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 5 August

*WA0508173193*

*The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.*

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### SUMMARY

***Bosnian President Izetbegovic's attendance at peace talks still uncertain; Croatian President Tudjman rejects Izetbegovic proposal, criticizes boycott ... Bosnian Serbs agree to give UNPROFOR control of Mount Igman ... Bosnian Serbs, Muslims agree to open roads to Sarajevo ... Krajina Serbs attack Maslenica bridge, report massive Croatian deployment of troops on Krajina border.***

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### DIPLOMATIC

IZETBEGOVIC ATTENDANCE UNCERTAIN (Belgrade Radio, AFP, Sarajevo Radio, Zagreb Radio): Although a spokesman for international mediators Owen and Stoltenberg was reported by AFP to say that Bosnian President Izetbegovic would end his five-day boycott of the Geneva peace talks, Sarajevo Radio reports Izetbegovic declared he will not "negotiate" a peace plan but will only meet with Owen and Stoltenberg to "discuss certain issues regarding the maps" marking the new boundaries in Bosnia. Croatian President Tudjman rejects Izetbegovic proposal for Bosnian Croats and Muslims to form a joint republic, says Izetbegovic's demand that Serbs end offensive on Sarajevo is "only an excuse" to avoid participating in the peace talks. (AU0508105493, AU0408170993, LD0408213293, LD0408214293)

### MILITARY

SERBS AGREE TO PULL BACK FROM HILLS (Belgrade Radio): Bosnian Serbs agree to withdraw from Mount Igman and Mount Bjelasnica, recently-captured strategic peaks overlooking Sarajevo, allowing UN forces to take over control of the hills. (AU0508140093)

SERBS, MUSLIMS AGREE TO OPEN ROADS (AFP): UN spokesman says Bosnian Serbs, Muslims have agreed to negotiate the opening of all roads for nonmilitary traffic to Sarajevo. (AU0508111893)

KRAJINA SERBS FIRE ON BRIDGE (Zagreb Radio, TANJUG): Zagreb Radio reports Krajina Serb shelling of Maslenica bridge, causing part of the bridge to sink. According to TANJUG, Krajina "foreign minister" Jarcevic says Serbs will "not allow" bridge to be used until Croatian Army withdraws from territory captured in a 22 January offensive, claims "70,000" Croatian Army troops headed for Krajina border in preparation for a major attack. (LD0508125693, LD0408154793

### POLITICAL

MLADIC REPORTEDLY REPLACED: Sarajevo Radio quotes "news circulating" at Geneva peace talks that Bosnian Serb commander Mladic has been replaced by General Milovanovic. (AU0508113493)

### UN Commander To Meet With Serbs in Pale

*AU0508100993 Paris AFP in English 0958 GMT 5 Aug 93*

[Text] Sarajevo, Aug 5 (AFP)—U.N. commander Francis Briquemont was to meet Thursday with Bosnian Serb General Ratko Mladic and President Radovan Karadzic near Sarajevo.

They were to meet at the Serb stronghold of Pale, 16 kilometres (10 miles) southeast of Sarajevo.

Bosnian Serb troops have seized control of the strategic Igman mountain southwest of Sarajevo in fighting that has drawn threats of Western air attacks to clear away besieging Serb positions.

Briquemont is commander of U.N. troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina, replacing General Philippe Morillon.

### Army Delegation Fails To Arrive for Military Talks

*AU0408191993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Excerpt] The meeting of the mixed military commission that was supposed to be led by the three military commanders has not taken place at Sarajevo Airport today. The delegation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army failed to show up for the talks. [passage omitted]

### Gives Reasons for Ignoring Talks

*AU0408200093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center reports that our Army delegation failed to show up at Sarajevo Airport for military talks for several reasons:

Since 30 July 1993, when the cease-fire was signed, the Serbian aggressor [word indistinct] conquests by carrying out offensive activities against the free territories of Brcko, Maglaj, [words indistinct], and Mt. Bjelasnica. Protest was lodged with the commander of UNPROFOR for Bosnia-Herzegovina on three occasions by drawing attention to the events on the battlefield that [word indistinct) what had been embraced with the cease-fire agreement.

Rasim Delic, commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and an Army delegation that refused to hold direct talks with the aggressor's side on 2 August drew the attention of UNPROFOR representatives to the situation on the battlefield, demanding concrete steps in halting the offensive. [Words indistinct] to the UNPROFOR command for Sarajevo, as well as in the talks with General Briquemont, which were held yesterday.

General Briquemont sent observers to Mt. Bjelasnica, but the deployment of UNPROFOR observers had little or nearly no impact on the aggressor's units situated on this territory. Therefore, the repeated demands that the Serbian aggressor's units return to their positions of 30 July made yesterday and during previous days have not been fulfilled.

The decision to not attend the talks was passed in compliance [passage indistinct] Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is situated in Geneva, as there is no point in discussing new steps in the implementation of the cease-fire agreement signed when its provisions are being violated the very next day. [Words indistinct] offensive activities of the Serbian aggressor against Mt. Igman and its surroundings, which were intensified in the afternoon. A well-known scenario is, therefore, being repeated.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army delegation is willing to talk further to fulfill the conditions that are known to UNPROFOR and those who placed their signatures on the cease-fire, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center reports.

### Serbs Continue Offensive on Mt Igman Front

*AU0508091393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 5 Aug 93*

[Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army fighters have stopped the enemy advance on the Veliko Polje-Malo Polje line. Malo Polje is under the control of our forces. The attack on the [word indistinct] facilities on Mt. Igman has also been repulsed, and significant losses have been inflicted upon the chetniks. The Serbian aggressor keeps bringing in new forces and carrying out offensive operations, with the intent of cutting off the road toward Pazaric and Tarcin.

### Attacks on Igman, Bjelasnica Continue

*AU0408183693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[First Corps Press Service report]

[Excerpts] Despite the numerous and very serious warnings of the international community, the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor has not been idle today. Combat continues to focus on the strategically important Mt. Igman. While the fighters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army are observing the cease-fire order, and are responding to attacks only when their lives are endangered, the aggressor, deliberately taking advantage of this fact, is conquering new territories bit by bit so that he could pose conditions and blackmail the negotiations [in Geneva] using the notorious situation on the ground.

Since 1000 [0800 GMT] this morning the aggressor has been constantly attacking Igman with artillery from Mt. Bjelasnica. The target of his [word indistinct] was also the strategic location of [word indistinct] on the hillside of Igman, which the aggressor today showered with artillery projectiles.

The Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor continues to attack the slopes of the summit of Bjelasnica. He directed the bulk of his attacks on (?Medjude), (?Grajevi) and [words indistinct] (?called Vlasina). That these are very intense combat activities is proven by the fact that military formations are constantly being moved in an effort to refresh their decimated troops and provide reinforcements. [passage omitted]

There are no serious battles on the Sarajevo front. [passage omitted]

### Muslims Confirm Serb Gains

*LD0408213093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Report by correspondent Hasan Doric]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The situation is very difficult in Gornji Vakuf. Croatian Defense Council [HVO] extremists, backed by the regular Army of the Republic of Croatia, are still attacking the defense lines and shelling the town center. Their futile attacks are being coordinated by General Slobodan Praljak. The attacks by HVO extremists are also continuing in Mostar. The UN Protection Focre [UNPROFOR] and other peace organizations have been forbidden from entering the city. [passage omitted]

The aggressor is continuing its offensive in the zone of responsibility of the First Corps. The press center of the First Corps reported that the enemy used tanks and helicopters yesterday and today and captured Crni Vrh, Hotel Igman, and the Veliko Polje facilities [on Mount Igman].

### UN Officer, Mladic on 'Fall of Igman'

*AU0408153293 Paris AFP in English 1523 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Sarajevo, Aug 4 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces seized control Wednesday [4 August] of the strategic Mount Igman overlooking Sarajevo, a senior U.N. officer and the Bosnian Serb commander said here.

The officer, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said the Serbian forces seized a key road running along the crest of Mount Igman from Bosnian army defenders early Wednesday.

He said control of the road meant the Serbs "effectively control the mountain even if pockets of resistance remain."

The head of the Bosnian Serb army, General Ratko Mladic, also told journalists at Sarajevo airport that his men had taken control of Mount Igman and nearby Mount Bjelasnica.

"Our forces control mounts Bjelasnica and Igman. If you want, you can go up and see for yourselves," he said after meeting here with General Francis Briquemont, the Belgian commander of U.N. Protection Forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The fall of Mount Igman, which overlooks the south-western part of the Bosnian capital, could be disastrous for the Bosnian Army, as it is the only remaining route along which arms and ammunition can be brought to its soldiers through Serb lines.

Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic is boycotting the Geneva negotiations on Bosnia because of the Serb assault on Mount Igman and Mount Bjelasnica.

Mladic's forces pursued their offensives on the strategic heights despite new ceasefire agreements reached in Geneva between the Bosnian government and the Bosnian Serbs' political leader, Radovan Karadzic.

As confirmation of the Serbian gains was being announced, a spokesman for the peace talks in Geneva acknowledged that the negotiations were at a deadlock.

### 'Chetniks' Resume Offensive on Doboj Front

*AU0508085493*

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 5 August carries in its regular 13-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the Republic.

Reporting from the Doboj front, Mirudin Aldobasic says that "it has been sheer hell here since the early morning hours. The chetniks resumed their offensive against the free territory. They are using artillery and everything they have got to attack the defense lines of the 204 Motorized Brigade Doboj-Bosnia, but also the civilian targets in Alibegovci, Ularice, Matuzici, Mravici, and other parts of the free Doboj territory. The aggressor has so far fired over 100 of the most destructive projectiles at the central territory."

As for the Olovo front, an unidentified correspondent begins her report by describing the situation yesterday and adds that "the night was marked by occasional fire from antiaircraft guns and machine guns, and constant small arms fire." She says that the first morning hours in Olovo are "relatively quiet."

The Gradacac Information Center reports that "there were some more intensive small arms provocations in the region of Begov Konak, but we can still say that the night was generally quiet." The report claims that "four transport helicopters flew on the Doboj-Modrica route at about 2200 [2000 GMT] last night."

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Operative Group Bosnia reports from Zavidovici that "there are some sporadic provocations against the villages in the Bosna River valley. One aggressor's tank started firing at the town at 0600 this morning."

The 2d Corps 3d Operative Group reports from Kladanj that "provocative fire continued overnight with antiaircraft guns and machine guns firing at the defense lines from (?Jelasic) to Karaula." As for this morning, the report claims that it is "relatively quiet" on the Kladanj front.

### 'Islamic Fanatics' Massacre 30 Young Croats

*LD0408173493 Mostar Croatian Radio Herceg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Reporter's dispatch from Zepce]

[Text] According to information we have obtained from the command of the 111th Brigade of the Zepce Croat Defense Council [HVO], Islamic fanatics recently committed a fresh crime in Zeljeznjo Polje near Zenica. In the infamous teaching center of (El Faruk) the mohajedin killed 30 young Croats (?who) refused to go and kill their brothers in Zepce.

We have learned that Sefik Zekic, former vice chairman of the former municipality of Zepce, who was also the main proponent of the idea of bringing the mujahedin to this area, is behind this crime. All this was witnessed by two captured Muslim soldiers above Gornja Papratnica, which was fiercely attacked by Muslim forces today.

An infantry breakthrough was also attempted in the southern sector of the Zepce battlefield above Orahovica and Bistrica. The defenders are holding their positions.

There was also heavy fighting on the Zavidovici battlefield. Muslim forces attacked Dubravica and Debelo Brdo. A long column of civilians was observed this morning above (?Zavidovici) heading for Kakanj. It is presumed that this is a consequence of the movement of the defense lines near Zavidovici by HVO fighters.

Muslim artillery was not as active today as over the past few days. About 80 tank [word indistinct] shells were fired at the areas of the municipalities of Zepce and Zavidovici. One woman was killed and three people were wounded. In today's fighting the 111th [word indistinct] Brigade of the Zepce HVO lost one soldier and five were wounded.

### Vitez, Kiseljak Areas Attacked by Muslim Forces

*LD0408144493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] The Muslim army has been engaged in provocations on all battlefields of central Bosnia. They have fired mortar shells on Vitez, while Novi Travnik and the nearby television relay were attacked this morning. The defense line in Kiseljak and the free areas around Fojnica have also been attacked. Two people have been killed in the area's shelling. Over 50 mortar shells have fallen on the village of Kazagici near Kiseljak.

There was heavy fighting on the city front in Mostar last night, where the Croatian Defense Council units shifted and fortified the defense line in several points. The residential buildings which caught fire during the fighting last night are still burning. The Serb artillery pounded the area of Kosor early this morning.

### Conflicting Reports on Muslim, Croat Fighting

*LD0408134293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1251 GMT 4 Aug 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 4 (TANJUG)—The Moslem-controlled Sarajevo Radio and the Zagreb-based Croatian Radio give contradicting accounts of continued Moslem-Croat fighting in central Bosnia.

The Sarajevo Radio quotes Moslem military sources as saying that Bosnian Croat troops continue attacks on Moslem forces in central Bosnia although they have continuously been losing battles.

According to Croatian Radio, the Moslems continue their assaults on Zepce, Zavidovici, Novi Travnik and Vitez in central Bosnia. Five people were wounded when the local clinic in Vitez was hit by a Moslem tank shell, the same source says.

The troops that have regained control over the lost territories, including the strategic spots around Gornji Vakuf, were commended by the Bosnian Croat command, the Croatian Radio says.

The Sarajevo Radio, on the other hand, reports that the local population in the areas of Vitez, Busovaca, and Novi Travnik are not aware that Moslem forces are controlling Gornji Vakuf, in addition to Fojnica and Bugojno, because the Bosnian Croat troops have confiscated all radio and television receivers in a desperate attempt to prevent the further disarray of their troops.

The same source reports that the Croats have shelled Travnik on Tuesday night, and that they have been regrouping in an obvious preparation for a new attack on Travnik.

### Serb Military Source Reports on Muslim Attacks

*LD0408145893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1357 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Banja Luka, Aug 4 (TANJUG)—Three members of the Bosnian Serb Army were wounded in Moslem artillery attacks around Gradacac (northern Bosnia) on Tuesday night and Serb forces returned fire after over 30 shells hit their positions around the town, Bosnian Serb military sources said on Wednesday.

Moslem artillery attacks on Wednesday caused substantial material damage also in Teslic, northern Bosnia, the same sources said.

Moslem forces on Wednesday opened artillery and infantry fire on Serb positions around Maglaj and Doboj

(northern Bosnia) and Zavidovici, Vlasic and Srbobran (central Bosnia), violating a truce which took effect last Friday, Serb sources added.

### Muslims Raze Zeravica, Recica Villages

*LD0308212693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2004 GMT 3 Aug 93*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 3 Aug (TANJUG)—Muslim forces yesterday massacred nine people on their doorsteps in the villages of Zeravica and Recica northwest of Han Pijesak, SRNA reports, citing Serb sources in Sokolac. [passage omitted]

The villages of Zeravice and Podzeravice were looted and completely razed in the Muslim attack. Muslims set seven Serb houses on fire in the village of Recica.

### Serbs Invite UNPROFOR Observers to Bjelasnica

*LD0308143593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1344 GMT 3 Aug 93*

[Text] Pale, 3 Aug (TANJUG)—The information service of the Srpska republic army's [VRS] main headquarters has announced that, to acquire an objective insight into who is really violating the cease-fire, the main headquarters of the VRS today sent an urgent request to UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] to deploy its observers on Mt. Bjelasnica, along the demarcation line near Brcko; in the regions of Makljenovac, Omanjska, Vozuca [villages southwest of Doboj], and Doboj; in the villages of Zeravice, Recice, and Kljestane along the Olovo-Kladanj line; and in the villages of Boskovici and Sestici in the Zvornik area.

The UN observers should become acquainted on the spot with the monstrous crimes committed against the Serb population by the Muslim forces and the vast material damage they have inflicted in certain regions.

With this goodwill gesture, the Srpska republic wishes to reassert its committment to the peace process, its readiness to honor the ceasefire, and cooperate to the greatest possible extent with the peacekeeping forces, which in itself denies the malicious lies deliberately disseminated by the media, as well as other accusations against the Serbs.

### UN Observers: Serbs 'Will Not Pull Back'

*AU0508094093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 5 Aug 93*

[Text] The talks in Geneva on the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina have been somewhat slowed down in the recent days. The reason for that is the Serbian aggressor's offensive in the region of Mt. Bjelasnica and Mt. Igman.

At the session yesterday afternoon, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency gave the aggressor a deadline to withdraw from Mt. Bjelasnica by 1700 [1500 GMT] today. The participation of our delegation in the talks has thus been conditioned.

At 1700 today, President Alija Izetbegovic of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency is to meet international mediators Owen and Stoltenberg to see whether the Serbian aggressor has met the deadline and pulled back from Mt. Bjelasnica. If there is a withdrawal, talks could be resumed tomorrow.

John Mills, spokesman of the international conference on the former Yugoslavia, stated that the peace talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina have been blocked because the Bosnian Serbs still do not want to withdraw from Mt. Bjelasnica. The talks are blocked, the situation is serious, and the dynamics of the talks has been lost, Mills said. Despite all their promises, the Bosnian Serbs will not pull back from Mt. Bjelasnica. This is according to the UN observers there, the ones that can [words indistinct], Mills said.

### Boras Views Federate, Confederate Options

*AU0508112093 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jul 93 pp 14-15*

[Interview with Franjo Boras, temporary chairman of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, by Ivan Sabic; place and date not given: "There Is No Common Enemy Any More"]

[Text] Since he was, at a session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, elected temporary chairman of that body, Franjo Boras is the best presented occasional chairman of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency. We talked to him while he was waiting for the remaining members of the Presidency to come from Sarajevo, where, at the session chaired by Alija Izetbegovic, they produced the final version of the proposal of a federate organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which will be presented at the Geneva talks on ending the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Sabic] Mr. Boras, what made the Muslim members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency give up the concept of a unitarian Bosnia-Herzegovina and accept a federate organization?

[Boras] Judging by the behavior on a part of the Muslim politicians, one could deduce that they are constantly behind with their evaluations. Now they have finally realized that it is not possible to organize Bosnia-Herzegovina as a unitarian state, so they support other options. Naturally, they prefer the federate to confederate option, since a larger part of the functions would remain in the domain of the Federal Government.

[Sabic] Are the new evaluation and the new Muslim views regarding the future organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina tied to the Croat-Muslim war?

[Boras] That leadership understands that they must secure an area for their future federal unit. Knowing that they cannot win back areas conquered by the Serbs, they reached out for Croatian territory in central Bosnia and parts of Herzegovina. According to the latest statements by Alija Izetbegovic, they are even willing to accept a confederate organization, particularly now, after they have conquered parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina territory that was before held by the HVO [Croatian Defense Council].

[Sabic] Does that mean that the Muslim leadership have reconciled themselves to the possibility that the borders of future federate or confederate units will correspond to the lines reached by the armies?

[Boras] I believe that the Muslim offensive in central Bosnia was initiated exactly because of the opinion that the areas conquered in war could be legalized. When the Muslim leaders realized that the most numerous nation will not be able to get all of Bosnia-Herzegovina simply by being the most numerous nation, they started concentrating on military conquest. Of course, they followed the line of least resistance and did not attack the Serbs in eastern Bosnia, but the Croats, who are a weaker opponent.

[Sabic] But the proposal for a federate organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina says that the boundaries of the federal units will be those drawn by Vance and Owen as a constituent part of their peace plan.

[Boras] That is really so. However, since the Vance-Owen plan failed primarily because the Serbian side would not accept the map of provinces proposed by Vance and Owen, it is clear that the Serbs will not even accept the proposal of the federate organization that includes that map, so the Muslim leadership know that they can safely count only on the areas conquered by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

[Sabic] What event could be taken as the turning point when the Muslim-Croat relations started to worsen?

[Boras] It is difficult to give a precise date or event. I am more inclined to look for the reasons for the disagreement and the armed conflicts that resulted from it, in the various goals of the politics of the leaderships of both nations. The first and the most important among those goals is the organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina congruent with the interests of the nations that are represented by those leaderships.

[Sabic] Some time ago, it still seemed that the concord of the Muslims and the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina could not be jeopardized.

[Boras] Yes. Regarding that, let me remind you that the leaderships of the Party of Democratic Action and the Bosnia-Herzegovina HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], before the referendum on the independence and sovereignty of Bosnia- Herzegovina held on 29 February and on 1 March 1992, reached an agreement on the equal rights of all three nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina. At the extended session of the Executive Committee of the Bosnia-Herzegovina HDZ in Livno, the request for equal rights was formulated as the basic requirement of the Croats for participating in the referendum. However, after international recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegovic and his associates gave up that principle and insisted on a civil state according to the principle of "one man—one vote," at all meetings, including conferences on Bosnia-Herzegovina. Therefore, things had already started going downhill in April or May last year.

[Sabic] There have been many meetings for the improvement of relations. At one, they even agreed on the confederation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, but without results. Why?

[Boras] The confederation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia was discussed at the meeting of the Croatian and Muslim delegations, which, stimulated by the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, was held in Split at the end of May 1992. I participated in those talks, and the Croatian delegation was lead by Miljenko Brkic. The proposal for a confederate organization of relations between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia was included in the declaration that was adopted there, but it was soon forgotten. It could not have survived for many reasons. There was not a chance of it being accepted by the Serbs from Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Croats and the Muslims did not interpret it equally. The Muslims insisted on a unitarian Bosnia-Herzegovina forming a confederation with Croatia, which the Croats found unacceptable. Unfortunately, all other Croat-Muslim agreements had the same destiny.

[Sabic] Do you hope that an agreement that will enable joint action against the common enemy will finally be reached?

[Boras] It is debatable whether one could talk about a common enemy any more. An open aggression of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army against the Croats and their historical territory is going on in Bosnia-Herzegovina. During the past couple of months, the Croats have suffered much more from the aggression of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army than from Serbian aggression. The Muslim leadership alone is to blame for the fact that the Croats, in certain parts, are forced to ask for help from that common enemy and thus give the Serbs the material for a media campaign.

As far as Croat-Muslim agreement is concerned, it is a known fact that something is being done to stop the conflicts between the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, at direct meetings of political representatives of the two nations, but also, from time to time, in the talks in the framework of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. If agreement on the future organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina could be reached between the Croats and the Muslims at least, those conflicts would immediately stop, but something like that is not

very likely to happen. However, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is still trying to establish a unitarian Bosnia-Herzegovina, while the HVO is fighting to preserve equal rights for the Croats as one of the three constituent nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, so that there are very few chances that the talks will make significant progress.

[Sabic] Who loses most in all those alliances and hostilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Boras] The Muslims and the Croats will lose the most. What is happening now is the realization of desires of the greater Serbian politicians.

[Sabic] Izetbegovic has lately been talking about the necessity to establish peace within two or three months. Are those realistic expectations?

[Boras] It sounds paradoxical, but I must say that war and peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina depend on Izetbegovic. If he had accepted the equality of all three nations and if he had respected the agreement on the decentralization of Bosnia-Herzegovina that was reached on 18 March last year, the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina would be significantly different. Some even say that there would not be any war, but I do not think so. However, there would not be any war in the present form, and there would certainly not be a war between the Croats and the Muslims. If Alija Izetbegovic accepted the confederate organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina tomorrow, that would create the foundations for ending the war. Naturally, the war would not stop immediately, but that would create the conditions for a peaceful solution to the problem.

[Sabic] Then you believe in the possibility of an agreement between the leaderships of the three nations on other details, first of all on the boundaries of the provinces?

[Boras] The map would still be a problem, but it should be discussed only after all three sides sincerely accept a concept of the future Bosnia-Herzegovina. And I think that the confederate concept is the only one on which it is possible to reach an agreement.

[Sabic] This is a difficult time in the history of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina. There has been much criticism of Croatian politics in Bosnia-Herzegovina and many say that the suffering could have been avoided. Do you think that a big mistake was made somewhere and that different actions should have been taken?

[Boras] Speaking about Croatian politics in Bosnia-Herzegovina, one should consider its several segments. The most important one is defending the Croatian nation and its territories in Bosnia-Herzegovina, before from Serbian, and now even from Muslim aggression. Moreover, Croatian politics are constantly concentrating on the problem of the future organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina and on relevant negotiations with representatives of the remaining two nations and with representatives of various international institutions. There are many who would like to destroy Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state, so that Croatian politics must also get involved in searching for solutions for the survival of Bosnia-Herzegovina within its present borders, first of all on the international level. As there are no answers to any of the problems I mentioned as the goals of Croatian politics in Bosnia-Herzegovina, I think it is too early to make final evaluations now.

[Sabic] Regarding the solution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, we often hear about an international protectorate. Such a possibility is even mentioned in starting points for a future organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina accepted by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency these days. Would that be a good solution?

[Boras] We could hear about such a solution from politicians from the Bosnia-Herzegovina opposition. Member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency Mirko Pejanovic and the President of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly Miro Lazovic also spoke about it quite often, and such a proposal is favored by some Muslim politicians, too. With regard to the fact that the possibility of introducing an international protectorate is a counterproposal to a confederate organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina, I think that this is actually an attempt to avoid a solution that implies the decentralization of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the equal rights of the three constituent nations, that is, the preservation of the so called civic Bosnia-Herzegovina with the help of international factors.

## UN Says Bosnian Croats Blocking Aid for Sarajevo

*LD0408153993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1441 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 4 (TANJUG)—Commander of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Gen. Francis Briquemont on Wednesday accused Bosnian Croats of blocking at the main U.N. warehouse at Metkovic (near the Adriatic coast) a fuel convoy for hospitals and bakeries in Sarajevo.

He said Bosnian Croats had not allowed the convoy through their checkpoints three days ago. "To deliberately withhold humanitarian aid is unforgivable and must not be used as a tool of war," said Briquemont. He called on the warring sides to let the convoy through to Sarajevo. "UNPROFOR will continue to draw public attention to those who would continue to violate or disrupt the U.N. humanitarian aid mission," Briquemont added.

He said the fighting between Moslem and Croat forces had closed the only route along which it is possible to bring aid into Sarajevo and central Bosnia.

## Abdic: Izetbegovic Wants Him 'Liquidated'

*AU0408143393 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Aug 93 p 11*

[B. Mitrovic commentary: "They Want Me Liquidated"]

[Text] "At the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] congress I said that the Muslim people have not offended God so much as to have such a bad leadership. The top leadership of the party is actually working against the interests of the SDA, and most of all against the interests of the Muslim people themselves. If anybody from Bosnia-Herzegovina Television, radio, OSLOBODJENJE or VECERNJE NOVOSTI does not share their opinion—he will be swallowed up by darkness. That putschist group inside the SDA is buying human souls, making its assessments on the basis of barroom talks and gossip, frame-ups, various irresponsible statements...."

The man who got more votes than Alija Izetbegovic at the last Bosnia-Herzegovina presidential elections, but was then settled for the role of a Presidency member—Fikret Abdic, popularly known as Babo, provoked great anger on the part of Izetbegovic for saying all this. Since this was broadcast by a Sarajevo radiostation, STUDIO 99, Abdic has perhaps closed down this station forever. Namely, the contract for the use of the transmitter was immediately broken off by the Radio Television Bosnia-Herzegovina without any explanation. In order to avoid "similar errors" happening in other media, and preclude people from giving lessons to the Muslim rulers, the media is now accessible only to Izetbegovic, Ejup Ganic, Rasim Delic, Rusmir Mahmutcehajic, and Mustafa Ceric. The editorial board of BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA DANA was also not patriotic enough and the newspaper has not been published for a month and a half. The main reason for that is, again, the over-talkative Fikret Abdic. Yesterday, DALMACIJA carried Abdic's exclusive interview to STUDIO 99 entitled: "Alija's Agents Want To Liquidate Me." There he explained in detail how he was deprived of the presidential chair, how he was proclaimed a traitor, as well as his opinion on the current conflicts within the Muslim authorities.

### Minister Mahmutcehajic's Espionage

"I am not very sensitive to accusations that are worse than the Bolshevik ones. Today, however, despite the difficult and dramatic situation in which the state is, 10,000 mercenaries are being paid out of funds intended for financial aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina, with the only task of undermining my authority and rating," Babo says in the interview, concluding that Izetbegovic and Ganic are doing this only because "they have nothing behind them but bare stories," while he still has the people behind him.

Abdic claims that the main ideologist of the SDA is Rusmir Mahmutcehajic and that Izetbegovic will one day have to explain why he brought in this man, who has neither been in the party, nor on the candidate list for the elections.

Mahmutcehajic established a secret service office of the SDA and then attached it to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Ministry of Internal Affairs. He is the minister for energy and with him in charge whom the people may die of hunger, because he is only engaged in espionage and planning the liquidation of certain people, principally. He has got his people throughout the world, a great number of whom are in Zagreb, and recently they have opened a logistics center in Rijeka. There is also Ragib Merdanovic, Rusmir's man, who is engaged in following my work in Rijeka. Today they are doing this to me, but tomorrow they will use the same illegal means to do that to others. This was openly stated by Fikret Abdic in the incriminating interview, in which he also said that the residents of Sarajevo must be told the whole truth on every subject.

### Izetbegovic Is Deceiving the World

"I did not intend to inform the public about this so soon, since I was aware of the suffering of the citizens, and afraid it might create additional confusion with them. However, I now see there is no end to their political games. Lately, a very obvious example has occurred when Izetbegovic mobilized the Army to suit his own ideas and against other peoples' ideas. Rasim Delic, commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, following Izetbegovic's and Ganic's orders, sent a circular letter to all troop headquarters, coded as a military secret, attacking me and my presence in the negotiation process. That circular was sent to Lord Owen and to Stoltenberg.

"Hundreds of thousands of people and soldiers were misinformed with lies claiming that I was dividing Bosnia in Geneva. It is high time it was stated that the decisions taken by the Presidency, the SDA Executive Committee, the Army commanding officers, and the Armed Forces as a whole, are actually Alija's decisions. Moreover, the key question for Bosnia-Herzegovina is not whether Alija will be its president, but whether the Presidency will act as a collective head of state. The head of state, therefore, is not Izetbegovic, even though he has deceived the whole world on this matter. Ganic elected himself vice president, and together with Silajdzic they make the trio that has turned out to be totally unsuccessful. I think they decided on such a concentration of power in the hands of a few people, because they believed that the war would soon be over and then fewer would share the postwar awards and privileges." This is what Abdic concluded, saying at the same time that in his view Alija Izetbegovic is the sole cause for the conflict between the Croats and the Muslims.

After this interview to Sarajevo STUDIO 99, a television team headed by General Manager Mufid Memija removed the transmitter and closed down this radio station. In recent days there has been an increase in the railing against Fikret Abdic from the controlled media.

## Serb B-H Presidency Member Interviewed

*93BA1286C Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian*
*16 Jul 93 pp 42-43*

[Interview with Mirko Pejanovic, Serb member of Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, by Damir Jurisic; place and date not given: "Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency Ripe for Change"]

[Text] *Everyone will be responsible for what they have done and left undone. Mr. Izetbegovic, the president of the Presidency, bears a twofold responsibility—his responsibility as the leader of the most numerous nation, and his responsibility as the president of all the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He must render an accounting for his work first of all to the SDA [Party of Democratic Action], to the majority of the Muslim nation, and then to the Presidency as well.*

Mirko Pejanovic, a member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and an ethnic Serb, clearly is not having an easy time living and working in Sarajevo. However, he has remained open and communicative, always determined to offer a hand to any person in need. Thus, it is no surprise that his office in Sarajevo is—as it is called by those who have been there—the bureau for the protection of human souls. On the other hand, however, Mirko Pejanovic is accused of being a traitor to his own, Serb, nation, because he has not taken to the hills to kill his fellow citizens, but rather has stayed to share the fate of his neighbors and friends. Karadzic's Serbs accuse him of being Alija's token Serb and token member of the Presidency, so that his skin would certainly fetch a high price in Pale. Amid the shells, imputations, and dilemmas, Mirko Pejanovic is trying to endure.

[Pejanovic] They fact that they call me Alija's token Serb does not upset me in the least. That is part of the media war, which is a major production of lies and untruths about people. I can regard all this speculation about myself in this context. But the simple truth is that I did not ask anyone whether I should accept the role of member of the Presidency, this post that was monopolized by the three victorious national parties, who automatically declared themselves the only representatives of their nations. I joined the Presidency because of the ideal of a peaceful solution to the bloody Bosnian drama. It did not occur to me then, nor does it occur to me now, to identify or even declare myself president of the Serb nation. I am a representative of the political option that I have advocated and for which I fought whole-heartedly in the elections, and that is the democratic, civic political option. There were 350,000 citizens who voted for that option, including Serbs, Croats, and Muslims. It is before them that I wish to maintain a spotless reputation and clear conscience. Only time will tell to what extent I, as a member of the Presidency, have contributed to the well-being of all the nations, including my own Serb nation. I have never been, nor will I ever be, involved in public life for the sake of some private interest.

[Jurisic] After the strong protest issued by you and your Presidency colleague, Tatjana Ljuic-Mijatovic, following the clashes in central Sarajevo between parts of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the police, when local army leader Musan Topalovic-Caco raided the apartments of mostly prominent Croats and Serbs and took them away to dig trenches, has the situation calmed down somewhat?

[Pejanovic] Things are calmer, but there remains bitterness after everything that has happened lately in Sarajevo. Mr. Miro Lasic too sharply protested the brutal abduction of loyal citizens to engage in digging, most of whom were Serbs and Croats. There have also been cases of mistreatment, and some non-Muslims have disappeared in recent days and their whereabouts are still unknown.

I am not saying that this has become the general practice in Sarajevo; I want to believe that this is only an ugly episode by two local army leaders, Musan Topalovic-Caco and Ramiz Delalic, who are active in the Stari Grad Opstina, and about whom the commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, Rasim Delic, says that they are not under his control. Thus, they want to be a private army. What they have done lately in Sarajevo has inflicted the greatest damage on Bosnia-Herzegovina's international reputation. Indeed, this form of terrorism and ethnic intimidation is unprecedented in the capital of our state from the beginning of the aggression to this very day. I hope that we have seen the last of it.

[Jurisic] Still, it is suspected that someone from the Bosnia-Herzegovina leadership is behind it.

[Pejanovic] I think that right now the point is this: If this is repeated, if the non-Muslim population continues to be mistreated, meaning the Croats and Serbs, of whom there are many who have remained in Sarajevo, sharing all the horrors of war with their Muslim neighbors, then this will be tragic for everyone, most of all for those who are behind all this, if there is anyone. That will dispel any dream of the civic option and belief in the rule-of-law state, and everything that we have painstakingly built together and endured during the 15 months of hell in Sarajevo will simply be transformed from a tragedy to a farce. Neither I nor the tens of thousands of Serbs whom I represent have chosen to take to the hills, but neither are we in favor of the option that local bullies and terrorists have tried and unfortunately are still trying to carry out. Such people cannot deter me.

[Jurisic] On the international scene, it appears that the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina is a done deal. It seems that the clumsy policy of those who have represented Bosnia-Herzegovina—Izetbegovic, Ganic, Silajdzic—has failed. What comes next?

[Pejanovic] We were still discussing the possibility of implementing the Vance-Owen plan with the cochairmen of the peace conference, Lord Owen and Stoltenberg, in Geneva. Lord Owen confirmed that the plan did not get enough international support to be

implemented and that one side in the conflict had not accepted it, which means that it is unfeasible in practice. However, it is not dead as a political option. At meetings in Geneva and afterwards, the Presidency acquainted President Tudjman and President Milosevic with the principles of a confederalization of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Presidency's position is that confederalization on an ethnic basis is an overture to the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina. So the Presidency will propose that Bosnia-Herzegovina be set up on a federative basis. According to this proposal, federal units would conduct a common foreign policy, and the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina would have a common citizenship, a unified monetary unit, and a shared legal and economic system. The three constituent nations, enjoying equal rights, would have their own chamber of nations in this federation, and the principle of consensus would apply to it.

[Jurisic] Can a compromise solution be found on the basis of these proposals?

[Pejanovic] Right now it is necessary to start some sort of peace process. Otherwise, ethnic cleansing will continue and there will be ever-fewer prospects for establishing peace. As far as the proposal on confederalizing Bosnia-Herzegovina on an ethnic basis is concerned, I feel that after the bloody fighting and hatred it will lead to the demolition of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Confederalization can be imposed as a solution, by force, but I think that all the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina have the right to express their opinion on this. Previously, at talks in Geneva with Mr. Tudjman and Mr. Milosevic, I was in favor of a confederation or economic union of Croats, Serbs, and Muslims, who are present in all the regions of the former Yugoslavia. In response to that, President Tudjman said that he is aware that we live in a century of general integration and information technologies, but at the same time in an age of national identification, and that his position 50 years ago was similar, but that it has undergone a necessary evolution over time.

[Jurisic] What will you do if the position on a federal Bosnia-Herzegovina is voted down and the confederal option prevails as the only guarrantee of a halt to the bloodshed?

[Pejanovic] If you were to ask Sarajevans what they would choose right now, after 15 months of suffering and life unbefitting a human being, they would choose peace, without questioning the political solution. I assume that only the Serb military, given the level of indoctrination to which it is subjected, would want further conquests. However, the Serbs who are increasingly starving and perishing in the territory under SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] control and those who are refugees would choose peace. I am fighting for Bossnia-Herzegovina as an independent and multiethnic state, and I see the confederalization of Bosnia-Herzegovina as the end of that multiethnic community and as the recognition of force as a means of achieving goals. For me personally, that is a threshold that I could never cross. In that case, I would resign as a member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

[Jurisic] After the immense suffering of the people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the question of the individual and collective responsibility of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency must be raised eventually. What do you think about that?

[Pejanovic] Not only of the Presidency, but also of other important political institutions. I am in favor of making some changes and bringing new people into the army and police leadership. That should be the next to last step.

[Jurisic] What is the last one?

[Pejanovic] The last step is the question of the responsibility of all the members of the Presidency, led by President Alija Izetbegovic, and the replacement of people on the Presidency with others who have no prewar baggage, nor any wartime, national, or religious baggage. I have tried to raise this point on several occasions, and I am quite certain that it is high time to raise the question of the individual responsibility of all the members of the Presidency at some upcoming session in Sarajevo. I believe that the conditions are ripe for our voluntary withdrawal, and it could even be a change of government, although we do not now have an Assembly that can control us politically. If in the meantime we do not effect some major turnaround in both the military and the political domain, if we do not stop the war, then I think that in that case the Presidency has no further claim to power. It cannot preserve its already tottering authority. I am willing to be the first to withdraw. I am convinced that the Presidency will be agreeable to this and very decisive.

[Jurisic] But the responsibility of each individual is not the same.

[Pejanovic] Naturally. Everyone will be responsible for what they have done and left undone. Mr. Izetbegovic, the president of the Presidency, bears a twofold responsibility—his responsibility as the leader of the most numerous nation, and his responsibility as the president of all the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He must render an accounting for his work first of all to the SDA, to the majority of the Muslim nation, and then to the Presidency as well.

[Jurisic] In your opinion, what undeniable mistakes has Mr. Izetbegovic made?

[Pejanovic] I think that the biggest mistake was that he was unable or unwilling to separate his role in the SDA from his role as head of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency. I had the occasion to hear in Geneva, from Tudjman and Milosevic, that Croats and Serbs cannot have equal rights in Bosnia-Herzegovina because Izetbegovic is trying to achieve the ideal of an Islamic state. As for me, I think that that is still not true. Although people wonder where things are leading when the statements of

the new religious leader, naib reis Mustafa Ceric, appear almost every day in the press and on radio and television. All of this will have political consequences as well. I think that it would be very, very good for both the Muslim nation and the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina if new and younger people were to come onto the political scene. There is a general idea abroad that a final resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina will not happen without more decisive action by the international community, which has been lacking, that there can be no peace until those who were in power before the war, who have waged war, and who are in power today—although with differing intentions and responsibilities—have been replaced.

I am sensitive to the suffering of all the nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but thus far the Muslim nation has suffered most of all. Perhaps I myself am guilty of certain compromises and of the indecisiveness of our joint policy on the Presidency, which understandably, amid the trials of war, is most often attributed to Mr. Alija Izetbegovic, whether it is successful or not.

## British Intelligence Role in Croat-Muslim War

*93BA1286A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jul 93 pp 5-8*

[Article by Marko Barisic: "Role of British Intelligence Officers"]

[Text] *The first massacres in the Muslim-Croat fighting were committed by units commanded by British mercenaries, and British journalists broadcast the first footage of victims of the massacres.*

Seven months ago, during a routine check of buses travelling between Zagreb and Travnik, Croatian police discovered 22 Britons with short-cropped hair and in sports attire intending, they said, to join HOS [Croatian Defense Force] forces in central Bosnia. They were all legionnaires, retired professional soldiers primarily from the ranks of the Royal Navy, who wanted to offer their experience gained from many theaters of war in the struggle against the Serbs in Bosnia. They were led by one Suad Vrazenica, and had been recruited in Paris. A strong motive that they gave for coming was the desire to "fight for a just cause," of which they had been convinced by the media, while fewer of them mentioned adventure or money as a reason for coming. Having stopped them in Novi Zagreb, the Croatian police at first did not know what to do with them. At the time, there was no fighting going on between Croats and Muslims, but the organizational channel through which they had come was as yet unknown, and the assertion that HOS headquarters in Travnik was their destination was also dubious. After being stopped, the leader Suad offered the policemen money in exchange for being allowed to go through, and was surprised when it was refused. The Britons returned to Great Britain, but then the BBC reacted with lightning speed. Two days later, a television report was broadcast on these mercenaries that generated astonishment at the actions of the Croats who had refused the aid of Westerners; even more astonished were the Croatian policemen when they saw how much attention and sensitivity the official British media house pays to a handful of mercenaries.

The astonishment vanished several months later when journalist Dan Daimon, working for SKY News, filmed a report from Mostar on Norry Phillips, a British mercenary and former member of the Royal Navy, who according to the report had come to Croatia two years earlier to train Croatian soldiers. After the arrival of the UN peacekeeping forces, Phillips switched over the HVO [Croat Defense Council], and when the fighting between Croats and Muslims began, sailor Norry went over the Muslim side. None of this would be odd if he were not the very person who encouraged HVO commanders to launch an action against the Muslims. "Mostar cannot be a city with two militaries," he said. "Let's settle scores with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in two days, and the world will accept that." People with the HVO found it odd that he continually proposed this while at the same time selling arms to the Muslims. Phillips was someone with strong connections in the business of arms procurement and the import of mercenaries. When it appeared that there was no way that weapons and ammunition could be acquired, all one had to do was go to him, deposit enough money in a foreign bank account, and the material would arrive. He usually sent arriving mercenaries to central Bosnia for the purpose of training selected members of the HVO and Bosnia-Herzegovina Army as ruthless commandos that would be infiltrated as sabotage groups into territory under Serb control. These groups, which were usually led by Britons, never launched a single campaign against Serbs. Instead, these groups of trained commandos, Croats and Muslims, were sent out to fight each other, with Britons as their leaders.

### Mujahidin Briton

The massacre in the Muslim town of Ahmici near Vitez was in fact carried out by one such group, commanded by a Briton. The desecration of the Croat monastery of Guca Gora and the massacre in the town of the same name was carried out by a group of mujahidin under the command of mercenary Rose, a Briton. Immediately after the massacres in those towns, British "blue helmets" and British journalists arrived who broadcast to the world horrible scenes of the war and of civilian suffering, continuously emphasizing that what was happening between Croats and Muslims was no longer "sporadic" fighting, but rather real war. The pictures of reciprocal massacres and burned-down villages created on both sides, among both the Croats and the Muslims, the sense that they had become greater enemies to one another than the real aggressor, while in the international public the impression was created that in Bosnia-Herzegovina everyone is fighting against everyone else, that this was no longer Serbian aggression but rather a civil war. A recent appearance by Lord David Owen on

a BBC morning show explains this: "At first the Americans thought that the problem in Bosnia was a simple one: One group was the aggressor, the other the victim. We have thought from the outset that the problem is much more complicated, because it is not a case of aggression, rather one of civil war." Even an experienced diplomat like Owen has fallen prey to that sort of statement. To him, the Croat-Muslim fighting comes at the worst possible moment, and confirms his original theory, which he brought with him to the post of peace mediator, the goal of which was not to take any decisive steps against Serbia, least of all punish it with military action because of its aggression. Since at that time there was no fighting going on between Croats and Muslims, it was hard to withstand the U.S. efforts to undertake a Balkan reprise of Desert Storm. After the fighting began, everyone had already agreed that this kind of war, civil war, should not be interfered with at any cost. However, the fact that the first Muslim-Croat massacres were committed by units under the command of British mercenaries and that the first footage of the massacre victims was filmed and broadcast by British journalists lends a new dimension to the whole story about the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

**MI-6 in Balkans**

The territory of the former Yugoslavia, or rather of the Balkans, is strategically interesting because the shortest land route to the East passes through it. Because of that, this region is intersected by the spheres of interest of world and European powers, which also want to control the closest warm-water port. That is why their interests have always been intertwined with conflicts and wars in this region: When it has not been possible to further these interests through political means or economic force, the secret services of those countries have arrived on the scene, and through their people or by supporting a certain political or military group they have organized events that have changed history. It is known today that the demonstrations and fall of the government of the old Yugoslavia on 27 March 1941 was staged by the British intelligence service. That service had its own people and a certain role in the then-NDH [Independent State of Croatia] as well, encouraging, for example, the Lorkovic-Vokic putsch. British intelligence officers were with Tito during the entire course of the war. British officers and mercenaries have been active in the war against Croatia, but now even more so in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. There are also British soldiers in the ranks of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], arms dealers who present themselves as businessmen, and journalists who can legally gather information due to the nature of their job. Some of the people from these structures are agents for the British foreign intelligence service—Military Intelligence Six (abbreviated MI-6).

Serious analysts today consider MI-6 to be the epitome of intelligence services. Some deem it up to par with the U.S. CIA, while some say that it is superior to that agency in some segments. They also recall the "glorious" past of British intelligence. During all of World War II, MI-6 had people in the Wehrmacht itself and among high-ranking Russian officers. This service is divided into sections. For a long time, especially during the Cold War, the strongest one was the Russian section, and for that reason the flight of its chief, Kim Philby, to Russia was one of the most serious blows to that service. Philby, as chief, was a Russian agent, and that is precisely what MI-6 tries to do to its enemies. This British intelligence service is not massive like the KGB, is not on public display like the CIA, and does not refute itself. Officially, it does not even exist. There is no headquarters, as with similar services in other states. Its goal is to go unnoticed. It uses very subtle methods, acting through people in high positions. Its goal is to provide the British political scene and economy with quality information so that they can take successful action. They would like for Great Britain to be a respected factor in the world, but MI-6 is the only remainder of the British Empire that is still respected in the world. After Russia, this organization's attention is directed primarily at regions that are traditionally in Britain's spheres of interest: Africa and the Middle East, but in recent times the Asian section has also grown stronger.

**Halt of German Influence**

In the European section, there is a Balkan subsection that used to be important to Great Britain because of the need to control the route to Suez. Today, the goal of that subsection is to block German influence in the Balkans. This is discernable from statements by high-ranking politicians. Last Tuesday [6 July], German Minister of Foreign Affairs Kinkel told his allies that "this is not the right time to impose punitive sanctions on Croatia, despite the fighting between Bosnian Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina," while several days later, this past Wednesday, British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said in his Parliament: "I believe that the time has come for the European Community—perhaps on Monday—to consider introducing economic measures against Croatia for as long as Croatia is involved in activities contrary to international principles." Secretary Hurd said this during a fierce military initiative by Muslim forces in central Bosnia and northern Herzegovina. British intelligence officials have a large hand in Douglas Hurd's statement; their goal is to prevent inroads by German interests and to provoke fighting between Croats and Muslims.

Besides directly recruited high-ranking figures, the main levers of the British intelligence service are journalists, business people, and mercenaries. MI-6 publicizes its information to the world through the BBC, which broadcasts in 60 languages. In comparison, Voice of America broadcasts in only 16 languages. However, the United States is much more economically powerful and can use satellites and various listening devices in order to gather information, while the British MI-6 is still oriented toward classic methods of gathering information, where the human factor is essential.

Besides political reasons for a service's activities, there are also market reasons. On one occasion, two African tribes went to war after British mediation, both of them armed with British weaponry. The Bosnian Muslims too are buying primarily British weapons through the black market and dealers. The connection is completely logical. The majority of Arab countries buy their weapons from Great Britain, and it is primarily Arab money that is in Muslim funds abroad. Norry Phillips, the British mercenary in Mostar, also furnished primarily British weapons. From the very beginning, British politicians have been opposed to lifting the embargo on arms imports and against military intervention against the Bosnian Serbs. "That would mean choosing war, and up to now we have sought peace. We are doing everything that we can to halt the fighting, not to prolong it. We have discussed this with the [EC] Twelve frequently, and the prevailing opinion is that the embargo should not be lifted," Douglas Hurd told LE MONDE of Paris. In fact, Great Britain is not doing everything possible to achieve peace; if it were, it would not send its mercenaries, who are only inflaming war, and it would not transport large quantities of its weapons through the black market. Commander Rose, the leader of the mujahidin in Travnik, the group that committed the massacres in nearby Croat towns, is fully aware of this. "I command them," Rose declared proudly before a British journalist's camera, setting up his military headquarters in a church.

**Role of UNPROFOR**

Great Britain has forcefully and persistently opposed military intervention against the Serbs. When U.S. airplanes took off over Somalia, many people thought that Clinton would keep his preelection promise. But then the words of the unyielding Douglas Hurd were heard once again: "In Somalia, the activities of the military leadership are blocking humanitarian action.... In Bosnia-Herzegovina, it is civil war, assisted from the outside by Serbs from Belgrade." This statement was made on 9 December of last year, when there was only sporadic fighting between Croats and Muslims. For Hurd, this was civil war even then. Since it clearly had not broken out, his intelligence service—MI-6—made sure that it did. After all, it is very telling that the first fighting between Croats and Muslims occurred in the area where British UNPROFOR forces were deployed, in central Bosnia around Vitez. Even earlier, in November of last year, Lord Owen expressed his support for imposing economic sanctions against Croatia during an interview with Channel 4. Now they have been brought back up-to-date by Secretary Hurd.

Today, after the fierce and bloody Croat-Muslim fighting, officials at MI-6 headquarters are no doubt exultant. They successfully performed their job for their country's policy. They have remained friends with Serbia, prevented inroads by German interests, and are still selling enormous quantities of weapons to the warring sides. Norry Phillips is also exulting. The fighting is going well, but when things come to a head he will change sides again. And he will survive this fighting, just as he has done many times in the past. MI-6 has a special appreciation for the human factor. It is not for nothing that it is considered the most elite intelligence service in the world. They have done their work well in Bosnia-Herzegovina. That is confirmed by the graves.

## Foreign Mercenaries in War Described

*93BA1286B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jul 93 pp 6-7*

[Unattributed article: "Foreign Mercenaries: For What Did They Work 'Overtime'?"]

[Text] *When counterintelligence services were formed that began monitoring the work of foreign mercenaries as well, the fact that they were working and the things for which they were not paid began to be revealed.*

Even at the beginning of the Serb aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina, mercenaries began arriving in this region from various places. There were a lot of them from Great Britain in particular. In secret locations, far from the public eye, they organized camps for training soldiers, and this reporter was also in one such location. They worked according to a strictly regimented program, in the morning and afternoon. They reserved the evenings for themselves. They were not inclined toward alcohol and excesses. It was as if in their continuous association with weapons they acquired a different kind of solemnity, which is not commonplace among people of other professions. They did not talk much, but they liked it when they were praised for their good physical condition or successful target practice.

Living conditions in the camps were usually very bad, but they adapted very quickly and turned their kitchen and rooms into comfortable lodgings. They usually cooked army food, stewed vegetables and simply prepared meat. They were mostly under the age of 30. Their hair was closely cropped, and they paid close attention to personal hygiene. The things going on around them did not upset them very much.

As payment, they requested a certain cash advance, while the rest was paid to foreign bank accounts. They arrived in Bosnia-Herzegovina through the mediation of various connections, the best known being French, British, and Dutch. They were universally respected, especially after their participation in certain campaigns. That is why they made contact very easily with commanders, gained access to various staff offices and headquarters, and even associated with chiefs of staff. They had their own connections for importing arms, so that at any moment, given their position and the dependence of local commanders on them, they could have access to official information or even plan campaigns.

Still, it was possible to distinguish at least several types of them. The first were ordinary mercenaries. They avoided danger and seemed to be sincerely interested only in making money. The second type comprised brutal soldiers. They sought out action, dealt in arms, and were inclined to loot private homes and military equipment, which they later traded. Some of them were willing to go on sabotage missions in enemy territory for large sums of money. They would return to base with stories about their undertakings, which usually involved many military or civilian casualties. It was all the same to them, but it was not possible to verify their stories. The third type of mercenaries were born commanders. People who did not like to talk about their past, but whose bearing reflected dignity. They were in continuous contact with high-ranking commanders in a given area, they procured arms, worked in staff offices, and rested, and they had access to all important information.

According to a tacit agreement, nothing was said or written about them or their activities. Only when specific activities by some of these people found expression in recent events and when counterintelligence services were formed in certain sectors, which began to supervise their work as well, did the threads of the narrative for which they were not paid begin to come together. The Britons went the furthest in this activity. This is clear even without certain details, which await a more auspicious moment to be disclosed.

### 70,000 Croat Troops Heading for Krajina Borders

*LD0408154793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1515 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Belgrade, August 4 (TANJUG)—Around 70,000 regular army troops of Croatia are headed for the borders of the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK), RSK Foreign Minister Slobodan Jarcevic said on Wednesday.

Jarcevic said on Radio Jagodina (town in central Serbia) that the troop movements were clear evidence of Croatia's intentions to occupy RSK territories.

Under the Erdut agreement signed in mid-July, Croatia's forces were obliged to withdraw by July 31 from the RSK territories occupied in aggressions staged in mid-1992 and early this year.

Despite U.N. Security Council calls, Croatia twice delayed its pull-out. The ultimate deadline was set for midnight of August 3. In the meantime, RSK artillery destroyed a part of the Maslenica pontoon bridge on Sunday, as a warning to Croatia.

President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia on Tuesday said Croatia would be compelled "to take steps to secure that vital facility (Maslenica bridge)."

A RSK military delegation will on Thursday travel to Geneva in hope that the world community will compel Croatia to give up its intentions, Jarcevic said.

Jarcevic said the Erdut agreement must be implemented.

"As far as the Maslenica bridge and the Zemunik airport are concerned, they cannot be used since we will not allow it until the Erdut agreement is carried out in full. It is not normal for us to allow a country which has hostile relations with us to consolidate the military, transportation and economic situation," Jarcevic said.

The RSK was proclaimed within the former administrative borders of Croatia in 1991, after Croatia seceded from the former Yugoslav Federation and tried to reduce the Serbian people to a national minority. The RSK has been a U.N. protected area (UNPA) since March 1992.

### Krajina Tables Revised Cease-Fire Agreement

*LD0408130793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] In Knin, one of the deputies of the cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, Kurt Vollebaek, ended his talks with the Serbs of Knin this morning. Vollebaek has said that Djordje Bjegovic presented him with a draft cease-fire agreement in Croatia, based on an earlier proposal that had already been discussed in Vienna by representatives of Croatian authorities and the rebel Serbs. Vollebaek, who yesterday held the first round of talks, says that he handed a message from cochairman of the conference on the former Yugoslavia Thorvald Stoltenberg, to the Serbs there.

### EC Envoy Urges Croatia To Withdraw From Serb Krajina

*LD0408131093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1215 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Knin, Serb Krajina, Aug 4 (TANJUG)—E.C. envoy Thorvald Stoltenberg who, together with Lord Owen, co-chairs the Geneva-based conference on former Yugoslavia, has urged Croatia immediately to honour its commitment to withdraw from the occupied territories in the Republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.).

Under a Croatia-R.S.K. agreement brokered by the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) at Erdut in mid-July, Croatia undertook to withdraw by July 31 from territories in the U.N.-protected R.S.K. it occupied in an aggression of January 22.

Under the agreement, these areas were to be put under UNPROFOR control. In return, the R.S.K. permitted on July 18 that a pontoon bridge be built to replace the demolished Maslenica Bridge, and that Zemunik Airport near Zadar be reopened.

Stoltenberg's letter to Zagreb was made public in the R.S.K. capital of Knin on Wednesday, in which the E.C. envoy urged the Croatian authorities to set in motion the necessary mechanisms for cooperation with UNPROFOR in the deployment of U.N. peace-keepers in southern R.S.K., in keeping with the Erdut agreement. Stoltenberg said he had invited Croatian President Franjo Tudjman for a discussion of the situation.

The U.N. Security Council is actively involved in the matter and appreciates the willingness of the Krajina Serbs to extend the dealine for the implementation of the Erdut agreement, said Stoltenberg in his letter. The Serbs have twice extended the original deadline for the withdrawal of the Croatian Army from the Maslenica Bridge and Zemunik Airport, and the most recent deadline expired at midnight on August 3. Stoltenberg said he believed the dealine would be extended for as long as he and his aides kept up their effort to make the Croats accept the necessity of complete withdrawal in line with the agreement.

He therefore appealed to the Serb side to refrain from any steps that might destroy the effort to find an acceptable basis for resuming peace talks. He emphasised that the R.S.K. was willing to consider a lasting ceasefire and, eventually, peace after the withdrawal of Croatian troops.

### Tudjman Comments on Izetbegovic, Geneva Talks

*LD0408214293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] We have more details about today's talks in Geneva. First, here is a statement by Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, following his arrival in Zagreb:

[Begin Tudjman recording] The continuation of the Serbian offensive on Mount Bjelasnica is only an excuse,

because this has been going on for a while [words indistinct] Alija Izetbegovic at the same time forgot the offensive by Muslim forces against Croatian towns and formations. All in all, Izetbegovic himself, although he does not represent the Presidency, because Croatian representatives in part did not participate, and in fact did not take part [sentence as heard]. Only in connection with the talks did the Croatians adopt a different view, as did some other members [of the Bosnian presidency], like Fikret Abdic, and so on.

So there is no kind of unified view in the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency. Furthermore, there was no agreement to find a solution, to enter into talks, even in the name of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [end recording]

Now listen to what President Tudjman told journalists in his talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in Geneva.

[Begin Tudjman recording] We talked, certainly, about the subject of the conference above all, about how to resolve the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. But we also discussed the problem of Serbian-Croatian relations as a whole, and in this context, of course, [we also discussed] the Maslenica Bridge and the responsibility of those who in Knin are linking up with Belgrade, and also those who are influencing the behavior of the extremists in Knin. President Milosevic, as well as [Montenegrin President Momir] Bulatovic, stated in principle that for their part they would do everything to normalize relations and see to it that Serbians in Croatia resolve their relations with the Croatian authorities. [end recording]

## Foreign Minister Satisfied With Talks at UN

*AU0508115593 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jul 93 p 9*

[Darko Brdaric report: "After the Talks—Careful Satisfaction"]

[Text] Dr. Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Croatia, had many important meetings on the first day of his talks at the UN, at which he presented the positions of Croatia regarding the problems that concern Croatia and the international community at the moment. Especially prominent among those was the evaluation of the role of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR], whose mandate is running out in September, and their future. UN Secretary-General Butrus-Ghali should be contacting the Security Council about his evaluation of the situation and the proposal for the future, and as the consent of Croatia, as a sovereign state on whose territory the peace action is taking place, is necessary for each decision on the future status of UNPROFOR, Dr. Granic has conveyed the Croatian positions, proposals and requests to all who participate in the process of solving the problem of the occupied Croatian areas.

During the three-day talks, the Croatian delegation—at which, along with Dr. Granic and Dr. Mario Nobilo, Croatian ambassador at the UN, were Foreign Ministry officials Vladimir Matek and Zoran Bosnjak, and the members of the Croatian mission to the UN—will have a full schedule, meeting the highest UN officials and the diplomats of the countries participating in the activities of the Security Council.

Dr. Granic handed the secretary-general the letter from the Croatian president, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, containing the official Croatian positions on the possibility of extending the UNPROFOR mandate in Croatia, and he repeated the Croatian position that, of the three options that Butrus-Ghali had mentioned in his last report on the peace operations—leaving, the change of mandate or the extension of the present mandate—Croatia could not accept the third option, which would mean maintaining the status quo and freezing the present situation, even if the refusal would mean that the UNPROFOR will leave. That means that UNPROFOR mandate must change in such a way that their presence be effective and start showing visible results, primarily in the area of traffic and ending the Serb attacks on Croatian civilians. Croatia is also asking that the mandate of the UN forces in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia be officially separated, as they are operations on the territories of three different countries. Butrus-Ghali expressed his understanding for the Croatian requests, and reminded them that it was difficult to secure the financing of, and more people for, the "blue helmets," as well as that for the practical logistic and organizational reasons some connections should remain. Nevertheless, all the proposals will be discussed and practical solutions sought.

There were many topics in the discussion with the UN secretary-general, the main one being the future of the UN mandate after the expiration this fall, others being encompassing the position of the Croats in other states on the territory of the disintegrated Yugoslavia—especially in Vojvodina, cooperation on the investigation, prosecution and punishment of those responsible for war crimes in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina; and on humanitarian problems. There was some discussion on the crisis in central Bosnia caused by the conflict between Croats and Muslims, the media ignoring what the Croats there are suffering, and how many new refugees are flowing into Croatia. (In an incidental statement for Croatian Television in the halls of the UN building, Muhamed Sacirbey, Bosnia-Herzegovina ambassador to the UN, denounced the extremists on both sides.)

The secretary-general expressed a wish to visit Croatia soon, to celebrate the coming of peace.

Benon Sevan, the UN secretary-general's aid on political issues, repeated the position of the UN that the UN protected areas were part of the territory of the sovereign state of Croatia and that the main task was the peaceful and gradual return of those areas to the Croatian economic, social and political system. Similar opinions were

expressed by the other participants in the talks at the UN, Graf Detlef zu Rantzav, the German permanent representative at the UN, and the Russian Permanent Representative Yuliy Vorontsov. Giving a short statement following the Wednesday meetings, Dr. Granic expressed his opinion that the Croatian side can be satisfied with the talks, though not fully before the occupied areas are brought back under Croatian authority. He mentioned that one of the more significant reasons for satisfaction was that no one asked Croatia to give up its requests and agree to prolong the present situation.

[Box, p 9]

### Meeting With the Nonaligned—Marked by "Bosnian Topics"

On Thursday, Dr. Mate Granic met with the Chinese ambassador to the UN, with the representatives of five nonaligned countries at the Security Council, and with David Hannay, British representative at the Security Council and, at present, chairman of the Security Council. The topics of discussion were, as on Wednesday, primarily the issue of continuing the UNPROFOR peace operation in Croatia, and the separation of the mandate of the UN peace forces for Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia.

In talking to the Chinese Ambassador Chen Jian, deputy to the Chinese representative, it was remarked that China has great understanding for the Croatian requests for its territorial integrity to be ensured and the occupied areas returned to Croatian authority. The meeting with the representatives of the nonaligned was marked by the "Bosnian topics," wherein Dr. Granic repeated the Croatian positions on the situation in Croatia and the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and conveyed some information on the conflicts in central Bosnia. After the talk with Sir David Hannay, Dr. Granic went to meet Croats living in New York.

### Official Stresses Resistance to Serb Ultimatums

*LD0408162193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Slavko Degoricija, head of the state delegation for talks with local Serbs, has received Ambassador Knut Vollebaek. Following their talks, Ambassador Vollebaek said that he conveyed to Slavko Degoricija a message from the Serbs of Knin. He did not want to tell the press about it in detail. Asked about the Croatian Army's withdrawal and the latest Serbian ultimata, Slavko Degorocija made it clear that there will be no giving in to ultimata. He nevertheless reiterated Croatia's commitment to resolving all issues on a political basis.

### Report on Talks Between Susak, UK's Rifkind

*LD0408143093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Republic of Croatia Defense Minister Gojko Susak received British Defense Secretary Malcolm in Zagreb this morning. He [Rifkind] was accompanied by Douglas Hogg, minister of state at the Foreign Office, who was received by Jure Radic, head of the president's office. Tihomir Vinkovic reporting.

[Vinkovic] Following his talks at the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Croatia, Minister Rifkind said that he conveyed to Croatia the British Government's gratitude for the aid and logistical support given to the British serving within the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in Split. We also talked about the general state of affairs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and compared our standpoints, Rifkind said. Stressing the importance of reaching a quick solution at the Geneva talks, Rifkind said that this opportunity should be seized rather than missed.

Minister Susak said that he was interested in Britain's attitude to yesterday's statement by NATO representatives and in how Britain was going to react.

[Begin Susak's recording] As for Bosnia-Herzegovina, they are concerned about humanitarian aid since it is not coming through as it should. I said that this [humanitarian aid] did not function in war zones anyway. Croatia will do its best, influencing the Croats there and all the other sides, to defuse the whole situation there. He said that if agreement was reached at Geneva, Britain will, together with France and the United States, take action if need be. [end recording]

[Vinkovic] Following his talks with the state minister at the Foreign Office, Jure Radic, head of the president's office, said that he had expounded Croatia's views on the future of UNPROFOR in Croatia after 30 September. If the mandate remains unchanged, i.e. if the blue helmets fail to become effective, Croatia will not extend their mandate, Radic said.

Apart from this, the key questions discussed by Radic and Hogg included the future of the Geneva Conference, developments in central Bosnia, and general issues relating to the war in this country. Hogg conveyed British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd's opinion that if there is evidence of the presence of the Republic of Croatia Army in Bosnia-Herzegovina sanctions against Croatia will be considered. The present situation is such that there is no reason to introduce sanctions, Hogg said in conclusion.

### Serb Artillery 'Bombardment' on Maslenica Bridge

*AU0508114493 Paris AFP in English 1141 GMT 5 Aug 93*

[Text] Zagreb, Aug 5 (AFP)—Serb separatist artillery fired at the strategic Maslenica bridge Thursday while

Croatian engineers were beginning to repair the pontoon crossing, U.N. forces reported.

The 20-minute bombardment failed to hit the bridge, but destroyed several vehicles nearby, said a correspondent for Radio Zagreb at the scene.

### Granic Stresses UN Resolutions on Bridge

*LD0408191393 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Dr. Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of the Republic of Croatia, has received U.S. Ambassador Peter Galbraith and Russian Federation Ambassador Leonid Kerestedzhiyants, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has announced.

Granic familiarized his guests with Croatian standpoints in connection with conditions in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and in connection with the talks in Geneva.

As regards the situation in the Republic of Croatia following the provocative action which destroyed the Maslenica pontoon bridge, Dr. Granic stressed that Croatia has demonstrated and is demonstrating extreme restraint, but that it will resolutely demand the implementation of all the relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council, and here it expects a real and effective contribution by UN peace-keeping forces.

### Heavy Serb Artillery Attack on Gospic Reported

*LD0408213593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Report by Krunoslav Prpic]

[Excerpt] This evening Gospic has been subjected to one of the most powerful artillery attacks. For over two hours now the attack by Serb rebels on the central and outlying parts of Gospic and on the Croatian defenders has not ceased. There are casualties. Since 2150, when the first shells fell on the town, the enemy has been launching combined attacks using howitzers, artillery pieces, tanks, multiple rocket launchers, and mortars and it is destroying civilian targets. Shells, including incendiary devices, are falling on the town every moment. [passage omitted]

### Serbs Attack Gospic, Otocac, Other Areas

*LD0508090993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0805 GMT 5 Aug 93*

[Text] At half past midnight attacks on the Gospic, Stari Licki Osik, Perusic, Vuksic, and Musaluk regions stopped. Over 200 projectiles fell. Three people have been injured and material damage is high. A general alert for Gospic and the surrounding area is still in effect.

Also last night, between 1030 and 11 PM, Serbs attacked the city of Otocac from their positions in Zaluznica and Turjanski. Approximately 40 shells fell on the city. There is still no word on casualties, although material damage is reported to be high. This is the first attack on the Otocac region since the peace agreement signed in January 1991.

## Federal

### Government To Open Talks on UNPROFOR Status

*LD0508114893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1052 GMT 5 Aug 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 5 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav authorities will open talks with official of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) command to discuss a draft treaty negoatiated between the Yugoslav Government and the United Nations and governing UNPROFOR's status in the new Yugoslavia, said a statement released by the Yugoslav Information Ministry.

At a session chaired by Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, the committee for cooperation with UNPROFOR adopted a report on talks with U.N. representatives on conditions regulating UNPROFOR's movement in Yugoslavia and across its borders, said the statement.

The committee said that talks on the application of the government's regulations concerning visas for foreign nationals, including UNPROFOR personnel, would soon be resumed. The committee said the Yugoslav Government was willing to continue its useful cooperation with the U.N. peacekeeping force, said the statement of the Information Ministry.

### Zebic Sets New Guidelines of Economic Policy

*AU0508080393 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jul 93 p 13*

[Interview with Jovan Zebic, deputy prime minister of the federal government of the FRY, by Bojana Jager; place and date not given: "The Financial System Will Not Collapse"]

[Text] "The main goals of the additional measures of economic policy have been designed, above all, to put brakes on hyperinflation and the decline in production, as well as on the decline in the standard of living. Some anchors of anti-inflationary policy will be established: above all the limitation of growth of primary emission money, alongside the implementation of alternative mechanisms for financing budget deficits, and, of course, salary control. The growth of primary emission will be controlled by the policy on hard currency exchange rates in such a way that the exchange rates do not exceed the rise of current inflation," Jovan Zebic, deputy prime minister of the federal government, explains the guidelines of the economic policy, adding that beating down hyperinflation requires the acknowledgement of the principle that the economic and social problems cannot be solved solely by forcing the additional emission of money. In concert with those guidelines, some existing orientations will also be revised.

[Jager] Which orientations are you referring to?

[Zebic] It is necessary to provide alternative mechanisms for financing some guidelines in the economy, and partially in the budget policy, which have been financed by primary emission resources so far. One of such alternative mechanisms for financing some of the primary needs of the economy and the republican budgets is the activation of the credit potentials of commercial banks. Of course, for such a change it is necessary to have agreement among banks, the economy, the state and the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

As for the restriction of money emission needed for the purchase of crops, we have planned the introduction of coupons for wheat, the buyers of which will be firms, banks, and citizens. Such a mechanism will be stimulative for farmers, because they will be able to redeem the coupons even for a higher price than is guaranteed, while, at the same time, the primary emission will be considerably unburdened. We also plan to reduce budget expenditures, and in such a way that we shall cut down the network of budget institutions, above all the state administration, and abolish some of the ministries whose functions overlap at the republican and federal levels.

Support for workers on forced vacations that are a consequence of the sanctions, must be reduced. Firms should identify surplus employees, and give them the possibility of retraining. They might as well financially assist them to find jobs in smaller enterprises, or to take underutilized facilities on lease. We also plan to reduce the inflow of new pensioners by canceling the possibility of leveling up the years needed for a pension by buying them off. The lowest pensions should be 50 percent of the lowest net salary, while the span of pensions would correspond to the span of salaries. To make the long story short, since the volume of budget deficits is the most important factor for beating down hyperinflation, for that reason the plan also anticipates the further preservation of 55.8 percent of the share of public spending in the gross national product, which will be achieved through a drop of the deficit in the last quarter of this year.

[Jager] What is the critical point of the entire economic policy, upon which everything depends?

[Zebic] The critical point of the economic policy is an incredibly low level of production, given the danger of its further fall, or at least stagnation, if the sanctions remain in force. A proportionally small gross national product is thereby created, while the needs are simply growing. In such a magic circle, given fewer and fewer available means, while on the other hand greater and greater demands, one can identify the critical point of the economic policy.

One should keep in mind we have now around 1.2 million pensioners, adding 18,000 more who earned their pension in the former Yugoslav republics, as well as around 9,000 pensioners from the Serbian Republic, around 8,000 refugees from Croatia, and around 60,000

pensioners who earned their pensions abroad. Besides, around 80,000 elderly receive disabled veteran benefits, over 70,000 families, having around 170,000 family members, receive social security, while there are also 700,000 refugees. It is obvious how serious the problem of economic policy in the social sphere is, as well as in the sector of public spending, since such spending is precisely the cause of such high inflation.

Apart from all that, production continues to fall, as well as wages, pensions, and other social commitments, which further drastically lower the standard of living, and the objective purchasing power of citizens, so that social tensions have really reached the critical point. In order to ease off the social tensions, the federal government has given a high priority to cooperation with the republican governments precisely in the field of social policy, so that the social consequences of the fall in production and the devastating hyperinflation can be alleviated.

[Jager] Do you believe that social disorder is possible?

[Zebic] Of course it is not. If anything has been done so far under the conditions of the international blockade it has been done in the field of social policy, supporting the socially endangered citizens. We intend to continue doing so.

[Jager] Still, what awaits us in the Fall, and how do you intend to handle shortages of goods?

[Zebic] If the sanctions are not lifted by the end of this year, and the negative economic tendencies continue, one can expect a further fall in industrial production. Under such conditions the gross national product will drop by 30 percent in relation to last year. Of course, the consequence of that will be undersupply of certain goods on the market. According to a federal government estimate, there are some funds for supplying the citizens with basic provisions. However, it is realistic to expect the shortage of energy supplies, particularly imports.

To the question of whether he believes in the possibility of the collapse of the financial system of the country, Zebic answered: "No."

## Bill To Establish Police Academy Viewed

*AU0308115893 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jul 93 p 27*

[Slobodan Ikonic article: "Police Academy Hits on the Head"]

[Text] The assertion by the Austrian novelist and pacifist Karl Kraus that a scandal begins only after the police puts an end to it, has unambiguously marked the period following the events inside and outside the Federal Assembly. The scandalous removal of President Dobrica Cosic, the knockout of representative Markovic, and demonstrations in front of the Assembly were suppressed by the brutal force of police and arrests, while Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, and his wife were badly battered. The period following those events has predominantly dealt with the issue of the "blue elite" [police], while on top of all came the bill on institution of a police academy that was passed by the socialist-radical majority in the republican assembly, despite the opposition's criticisms.

According to the explanation of Danilo Z. Markovic, (now already former) minister for education the purpose of the act is in the efforts made by the Serbian government to build a state apparatus that will support the lawful state. He also emphasized that the existing way of training the future police personnel did not provide enough professional education.

Students, future police second lieutenants, will enroll in the academy as early as this autumn. The academy will be graded as a faculty, but it will be detached from the University of Belgrade because of the distinctiveness of police and the internal affairs service. Apart from the usual bachelor's degree, there will also be expert degrees, like master's or doctor's (there will also be an honorary doctor's degree). At the academy there will be no right to political, trade union, party, or religious associations or individual activities in that respect, nor will there be any right to strike. All citizens of the FRY who fulfill the conditions for regular university are eligible for the academy, with some particular conditions also added, that is to say the psycho-physical ability for performing police duties, which will be determined by the minister. The academy will be financed through the republican budget.

### Old Idea—New Means

The experts who study this problem are quite surprised at how expeditiously the bill was passed.

"The most surprising thing is that the bill and its contents were not discussed in public so much, so the approach to the issue was quite limited. There were no comparative analyses of experiences of other countries, while the needs of the police from the sociological, political, and organizational point of view were not explained well," Budimir Babovic, former vice chairman and now adviser of Interpol, says.

One of the arguments in favor of adoption of the bill on the academy is also the low level of educational achievement among the existing personnel. Only 7.3 percent of employees have a university degree, 13.3 percent have a college degree, while 79.4 percent have a high-school degree. So far the best education has been provided by the Secondary School of Internal Affairs in Kamenica, and the College of Internal Affairs in Zemun. The capacities of these schools probably cannot meet the demand for qualified staff of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia which, according to some unofficial data, employs around 70,000 people.

The idea of establishing a police academy is actually 10 or so years old. So far it has not been realized for two

reasons: Firstly, the University of Belgrade opposed it, maintaining that in that way undeserved degrees and titles would be acquired, while the second reason was the lack of resources. Today, the academy is about to be founded although the financial situation in society is dramatic, while nobody actually asks the University of Belgrade for its opinion any more.

"Because of the situation we are in, it would be wiser to utilize the existing institutions. Some fields of criminology have been already studied at some faculties, and they should be only supplemented with additional facilities. For instance, at the Faculty of Law, or the Special Education School [Defektoloski Fakultet]. There are also the Institute for Security and the Institute for Criminology. True, all of them cannot provide some purely technical things, for instance the space for lessons in martial arts, but it is not necessary to found the academy only because of that," commented Dobrivoje Radovanovic, head of the Institute for Criminological and Sociological Researches.

The similar institutions that exist in almost all West European countries, and particularly in the United States, have been taken as a standard. The best American institution of that kind is certainly the central FBI Academy, which recruits its students mostly from among people who have already finished U.S. universities or colleges, while the training period lasts 10 months. Apart from the FBI Academy, U.S. policemen are also trained at regular police academies, which recruit 18- to 27-year-old young men. The schooling lasts two years.

"Professional training is necessary, and all the police forces in the world have it," Vladan Vasilijevic, expert on criminal law, emphasizes. "However, in the democratic societies the purpose of those schools is to improve and upgrade the personnel, so that they are able to respond to demands of the more and more complex fight against crime, rather than to back up the system and repression as is the case in totalitarian state systems, where police and army are deeply indoctrinated with ideology. In Yugoslavia the main goal is to finish the well-advanced process of turning the police forces into military-police forces that will be obtaining their own superior staff through the police academy. The army is not so reliable a support in critical moments, as distinct from the police, who always backs up and defend the authorities."

**Recognition as a Proof?**

It is quite conspicuous that the bill on establishing the police academy coincides with the bill on transgressions, containing also such proposals that all judges who are supposed to perform their functions for an unlimited time, that is to say until they retire, should be appointed by the government. Adding to that the proposal made by Miodrag Tmusic, Belgrade's public prosecutor, that police should take a more important role in legal proceedings, that means that if such a proposal were to be endorsed the role of judges would be eliminated, while the investigation would be restricted to the Prosecutor's Office and police.

"That would be a very severe violation of basic human rights observed even in legal proceedings," Vasilijevic stresses. "To take a statement by the police as a proof actually means the suspect is left to an uncertain destiny. That means the recognition of tyranny, being applied by our police all the time as a legitimate means in the process of investigation. The obvious and freshest example is what happened on 1 and 2 June, when so-called destroyers of the constitutional system were savagely arrested," Vasiljevic says.

He also emphasizes there were no such proposals even in the revolutionary legislature of postwar Yugoslavia, and not even in the legislature of the Soviet Union, since the proposal having been made by prosecutor Andrey Vishinsky to recognize admission as a proof was rejected.

Even the most recent example of Milosevic's pardoning arrested Draskovic and his wife shows how much the administration of justice is dependent on the ruling party (which, after all, does appoint judges). Despite quite conspicuous procedural errors and some facts favoring the arrested, the justice system did not dare to take them into consideration and act correspondingly. Only when we and the international public exerted pressure on Milosevic, he "generously" pardoned them, proving it is his hands that hold the knife as well as bread.

## Macedonia

### Crvenkoski Wants NATO Membership for Country

*PM0408142693 Milan L'EUROPEO in Italian 2 Aug 93 p 48*

[Interview with Macedonian Prime Minister Branko Crvenkoski by Maria Gilda Lyghounis; place and date not given]

[Text] L'EUROPEO interviewed Branko Crvenkoski, the new republic's prime minister, on the dangers confronting Macedonia today.

[Lyghounis] For the moment Macedonia has been admitted to the United Nations with the provisional name of "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia." How will the negotiations go forward?

[Crvenkoski] We are not too optimistic: Attempts to solve the dispute between Macedonia and Greece are still dragging on. On the other hand, however, the Greeks also know full well that exacerbating the conflicts is damaging to both sides.

[Lyghounis] What role can Italy play?

[Crvenkoski] As a member of G-7, Italy can undoubtedly influence the development of a new Europe. And it will be able to help us even more next year when it is its turn to chair the CSCE.

[Lyghounis] Greece accuses you of having expansionist aims...

[Crvenkoski] It is clearly stated in our Constitution that we have no territorial claims of any sort. Our military capability is also very limited. It is clear that we cannot represent a serious threat for a country which is a member of the EEC and NATO.

[Lyghounis] Do you not fear that the Serbs might stir up the Serbian minority in Macedonia?

[Crvenkoski] A potential threat certainly exists. But now Macedonia is a member of the United Nations and Blue Helmets have arrived in Skopje. As for the Serbian minority, we are on the right track, the one leading to a political structure designed to safeguard the identity of all the ethnic communities.

[Lyghounis] What if Turkey were to stir up the Islamic minority?

[Crvenkoski] The most promising outlook for Macedonia, Greece, and Turkey is cooperation. That is why we want to join NATO.

### 'Great Drought' Expected To Halve Agricultural Yields

*AU0408162293 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 4 Aug 93 no page number given*

[Unattributed report: "Great Drought Rages On"]

[Text] Due to the vast drought in Macedonia, water restrictions have been imposed in a number of towns. According to the estimates of the farmers, due to the drought, the harvest from the rice, vegetable, and fruit fields, is expected to be cut in half.

Also, the largest number of lakes are empty, which will also have a reflection on the amount of accumulated electricity in the winter period.

## Kosovo

### Council Condemns Serb Violence, Demands Early Elections

*AU0408134493 Tirana ATA in English 1012 GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Tirana, August 4 (ATA)—The coordinating council of the assemblies of the communes of the republic of Kosova, in a meeting held in Prishtina, declared that the situation in Kosova is very grave due to the savage violence against the Albanians under the Serb regime. In the face of this situation they demanded that the goals of the Kosovars as determined by the referendum for their independence be attained through democratic and peaceful means. Further, they demanded representation in the parliament of the republic of Kosova, which is their right because of their victory in the first multi-party elections conducted on May 24, 1992 in Kosova. As the mandate of all assemblies and governments of the communes of the republic of Kosova expires this November, the council requested permission to hold new elections in all the communes in accordance with the law and constitution of the republic of Kosova.